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FBIS-SOV-93-246 CONTENTS *27 December 1993*

12 DECEMBER RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

Results, Official Reaction

Figures for Party Support, Duma Seats Released *[INTERFAX]* 1
    Rules on Registering Deputies *[Radio Rossii]* 1
Electoral Commission Issues Decree on Constitution *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 25 Dec]* 2
Official: Most Servicemen Voted for Zhirinovskiy *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
Filatov Comments on Formation of Pro-Yeltsin Party *[INTERFAX]* 3
    Previews Work of Duma *[Russian TV]* 3
Blocs Hold Meetings To Prepare for Duma *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 25 Dec]* 5

Party Reaction

Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Shakhray Fail To Form Coalition *[Radio Rossii]* 5
    Said To Agree on Lukin as Speaker *[INTERFAX]* 5
    Russia's Choice Denies Report *[Moscow Radio]* 6
Gaydar Calls For Austerity, Admits Adjustment *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 6
Burbulis Views Need for Party With 'New Blood' *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
Boldyrev on Danger From 'Radicals' of Left, Right *[SERGODNYA 23 Dec]* 7
LDP Not To 'Seek Confrontation' in New Parliament *[INTERFAX]* 7
    Party Termed 'Centrist' *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
    Former Financial Backer Ends Support *[KURANTY 24 Dec]* 8
Agrarians, DPR, Communists Continue Consultations *[INTERFAX]* 9
Travkin Denies DPR Joining Communist-Agrarian Faction *[KURANTY 25 Dec]* 9
Communist Party Leader on Tasks in State Duma *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Agrarian Leader on State Debts, Threat to Harvest *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* 10
EFP's Borovoy on 'Tragedy' of Recent Elections *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 11
SDPR Leaders Want New Constitutional Conference *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* 11
Independent Deputies To Establish Own Faction *[INTERFAX]* 12

International Reaction, Media Analysis

Bulgaria Reacts to Zhirinovskiy Statements *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
U.S. Now Appraising Results 'Much More Calmly' *[IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]* 12
Compostion of Zhirinovskiy Base Analyzed *[SEGODNYA 24 Dec]* 13

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Presidents Arrive in Ashgabat for CIS Summit 14
    Snegur, Shevardnadze Comment *[INTERFAX]* 14
    Akayev Views Draft on Ethnic Rights *[INTERFAX]* 14
CIS Heads of State, Government Meet in Ashgabat 14
    Shokhin on Heads of Government Meeting *[INTERFAX]* 14
    Summit Opens; Agenda Previewed *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
    Yeltsin Elected CIS Chairman for 1994 *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
    News Conference Held *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
    Turkmenistan Joins Economic Union *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
    CIS To Coordinate Prices, Taxes *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
    Summit Concludes; Yeltsin, Kravchuk Meet *[Russian TV]* 16
    Investment Agreement Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
    'Ashgabat Declaration' Adopted *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
    Further on Documents Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
    Participants Comment on Results *[Moscow TV]* 17

- Newspapers Assess Results of CIS Summit ... 18
  - Summit Called 'Fruitful' *[IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]* ... 18
  - KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Results *[25 Dec]* ... 18
- Ukraine, Russia Discuss Oil, Gas Prices in Ashgabat *[UNIAN]* ... 19
  - Shokhin Denies Concessions Given *[IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]* ... 20
- Ukraine-Kazakhstan 'Rapprochement' Noted in Ashgabat *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 25 Dec]* ... 20
- Azerbaijani, Armenian Presidents Meet in Ashgabat *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 21
  - Ter-Petrosyan Assails Azerbaijan *[INTERFAX]* ... 21
- CIS Defense Ministers Meet, Sign Documents in Ashgabat ... 21
  - Ukrainian Defense Minister Comments *[INTERFAX]* ... 21
  - Russia Signs Defense Agreements *[Russian TV]* ... 22
  - Collective Security Treaty Discussed *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 22
  - Cooperation Documents Signed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Dec]* ... 22
  - Future Ukrainian Participation Noted *[UNIAR]* ... 23
  - Grachev Comments on Cooperation *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 23
  - Head of Security Council Named *[INTERFAX]* ... 23
  - Radetskyy, Kravchuk on Collective Security *[UNIAN]* ... 24
- ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Dec ... 24
  - Press Review for 25 Dec ... 25

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Kozyrev on Upcoming Yeltsin-Clinton Summit *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 27
  - Further Kozyrev Comments *[Russian TV]* ... 27
  - Talks Previewed *[INTERFAX]* ... 27
- Uranium Agreement With U.S. Confronted With Problems *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* ... 27
- Foreign Ministry Welcomes U.S. Russian Friendship Law *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 28
- Production Projects Using Canadian Credit Specified *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]* ... 28
- Greater Economic Cooperation With Cuba Envisaged *[INTERFAX]* ... 28
  - Agreement Signed *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 28
  - Shumeyko Comments *[INTERFAX]* ... 28
- Germany Provides Chemical Weapons Monitoring Equipment *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 29
- Polish Foreign Minister Interviewed on Russian Ties *[IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]* ... 29
- Foreign Ministry Warns on Latvian Nationalism *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 30
  - Foreign Ministry Clarifies Statement *[INTERFAX]* ... 30
- Commentary Criticizes Meri's Remarks on Minorities *[IZVESTIYA 22 Dec]* ... 31
- Deputy Minister Denies Territorial Claim on Ukraine *[INTERFAX]* ... 32
- Georgian Envoy: Moscow Holds Key To End Abkhaz Conflict *[INTERFAX]* ... 32
- More 'Mercenaries' Recruited for Azerbaijan *[Russian TV]* ... 33
- Group Wants Russians' Rights Defended in Former Republics *[INTERFAX]* ... 33
- Foreign Ministry's Adamishin Views CIS Ties *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 23 Dec]* ... 33
- Official Comments on 'Urgent' Efforts on Nuclear Dumping *[INTERFAX]* ... 36
  - Minister on Need for Foreign Aid *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 37
- ROK Firms Not Paid for Goods Shipped to Former USSR *[Seoul YONHAP]* ... 37

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

- 'Terrorists' Hold Hostages, Attempt To Flee to Iran ... 38
  - Seize Helicopter; Grachev Returns to Moscow *[INTERFAX]* ... 38
  - Demand $10 Million *[Moscow Radio]* ... 38
  - Ignore Government 'Ultimatum' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 38
  - Plan To Fly to Makhachhkala *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 39
  - Gunmen To Swap Hostages *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 39
  - Hijackers Release Hostages *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 39
  - Soskovets: 'No Serious Mistakes' *[Radio Rossii]* ... 39
  - All Four Hijackers Under Arrest *[Moscow Radio]* ... 40
  - Hijackers Identified *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 40
  - Yeltsin Thanks Participants *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 40
- Yeltsin Signs Edict on Reorganizing Council of Ministers *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 40

  - Shumeyko: Government To Be 'More Compact' *[INTERFAX]* ... 40
- Yeltsin Edict on Preparations for Federal Assembly *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Dec]* ... 41
- Yeltsin Signs Immigration Control Edict *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Dec]* ... 41
- Yeltsin Ratifies Provision on Civil Service *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 42
- Government Issues Decree on Identity Documents *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 42
- Chernomord Nominated Head of Control Budget Committee *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 42
- Government Leaders' 23 Dec Activities Reported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 24 Dec]* ... 43
- Further Reaction to Disbandment of Security Ministry ... 43
  - Reasons for Action Reviewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 23 Dec]* ... 43
  - Reasons for Abolition Viewed *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* ... 44
  - Ex-KGB Chief Views Reorganization *[OBSHCHAYA GAZETA 24-31 Dec]* ... 44
  - Silence of FCS Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]* ... 45
  - Edict 'No Encumbrance' to Border Troops *[IZVESTIYA 25 Dec]* ... 46
  - Yavlinskiy Questions Reorganization *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 25 Dec]* ... 46
- FIS Official Interviewed on Changes, Cuts *[SEGODNYA 24 Dec]* ... 47
- Constitutional Court Proposes Draft Law *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 25 Dec]* ... 48
- Reform of Local Government Assessed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]* ... 48
- Rumors of State Federation Committee's Abolition Denied *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* ... 48

Media Issues

- Edict on State Management of Media Published *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 24 Dec]* ... 48
- Further Reaction to Yeltsin Edict on Media Organs ... 50
  - Consequences Viewed *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 24 Dec]* ... 50
  - Poltoranin Seen as Loser *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]* ... 51
  - Baturin: Edict Increases State Control *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 51
- Yakovlev Outlines Aims as New Broadcasting Chief *[IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]* ... 52
- Yeltsin Issues Edict on RIA Charter, Funding *[INTERFAX]* ... 52
- Paper Publishes Edict on NTV TV Company *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 24 Dec]* ... 53
- Yeltsin Edict on New Radio Company *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 24 Dec]* ... 54
- Press Building Placed Under Special Police Guard *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 55
- Media Union in 'Pre-Strike Situation' *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* ... 55
- ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Stresses Independence *[24 Dec]* ... 56
- Chernomyrdin Appoints ITAR-TASS Deputies *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 56

Economic Issues

- Yeltsin Issues Edict Amending 4th Quarter Budget *[INTERFAX]* ... 56
  - Government Finalizes Budget *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 57
  - Edict Seen as Evidence of Stabilization *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 25 Dec]* ... 57
- Yeltsin Signs Edict on State Expenditure in 1994 *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 58
- Yeltsin Signs Decrees on Oil, Housing, Other Topics ... 58
  - Decree on Support to Oil Industry *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 58
  - Grain Market Liberalized *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 59
  - Yeltsin Signs Edict on Privatization *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 60
  - Introduces Investments in Housing *[Radio Rossii]* ... 60
  - Amends Customs Tariffs *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 60
  - Yeltsin Signs Auditing Edict *[INTERFAX]* ... 61
- Central Bank: Hard Currency Trade To Be Banned 1 Jan *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 61
- Gerashchenko on Tasks of Russian Central Bank *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 61
- Gerashchenko Seeks To Adjust Reforms *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* ... 62
- Customs Currency Control Introduced *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 62
- New Rules Aim To Stem Foreign Trade Earnings Losses *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 23 Dec]* ... 63
- Power Stations Continue To Suffer Fuel Shortages *[INTERFAX]* ... 63
- Miners Union Denies Being in 'Government's Pocket' *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 23 Dec]* ... 63
- Goods Producers Join Chamber of Trade and Commerce *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 25 Dec]* ... 64
- Aeroflot Director Reports on Company's Peformance *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 64

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Clinton Writes to Kravchuk on Nuclear Issues *[INTERFAX]* 66
Leaders 'Concerned' by World Response on Warheads *[PRAVDA 23 Dec]* 66
Kravchuk Comments on Return From CIS Summit *[Kiev International]* 66
Official Comments on Border Disputes With Russia *[INTERFAX]* 68
Russian Liberal Democrats Campaign in Poltava *[UNIAN]* 68

National Affairs

Reports of SS-24 Missile Deactivation Refuted *[UNIAR]* 68
Kravchuk on Parliament's 'Attack' of Executive Power *[INTERFAX]* 68
Parliament Vetoes Decree Privatizing Shipping Firm *[UNIAR]* 68
Chornovil Says Dismantling of Nuclear Weapons 'Treason' *[UNIAR]* 69
Cabinet Sees No Need for Food Rationing *[IZVESTIYA 24 Dec]* 69
Trade Unions Issue Ultimatum to President *[SEGODNYA 23 Dec]* 70
Crime Prompts State of Emergency in Sevastopol *[SEGODNYA 25 Dec]* 70
Christian Democratic Party Registered *[Kiev International]* 70

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich on Plans To Establish Presidency *[ITAR-TASS]* 71
People's Front Head Criticizes Western Policy *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 24 Dec]* 71
Council of Ministers Considers GATT Membership *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
National Bank Orders Large Denomination Notes *[INTERFAX]* 72
Arms Deal Deemed Legal in U.S. Embassy Inquiry *[RESPUBLIKA 18 Dec]* 72

Moldova

Snegur Comments on Results of CIS Summit *[BASAPRESS]* 72
Socialist Party To Head Leftist Bloc in Elections *[BASAPRESS]* 72
Military Cooperation Program With Belarus Adopted *[Moscow Radio]* 73
Army Rejects 'Unjustified' Press Attacks *[BASAPRESS]* 73
Tiraspol Reportedly To Transfer Ilascu to Chisinau *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 73
Ilascu Thanks Romanian Press for Support *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 73

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Chernomyrdin Arrives for Talks on Baykonur, Energy *[ITAR-TASS]* 74
    Meets With Nazarbayev *[Radio Rossii]* 74
    Fuel Agreement To Be Signed *[INTERFAX]* 74
    Shokhin on Results of Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 74
    Chernomyrdin Views Interethnic Relations *[Almaty Radio]* 75

Tajikistan

Parliament Endorses Samadov Appointment as Premier *[ITAR-TASS]* 75
No Parliament Quorum; Leninabad Oblast Rumored Responsible *[ITAR-TASS]* 76
Rakhmanov, Rabbani Hold News Conference *[Dushanbe Radio]* 76
Russian Border Guard Commander Views Situation *[INTERFAX]* 78
Russian Ruble Adopted as Official Currency Unit *[Moscow Radio]* 78

Turkmenistan

Bilateral Agreements Signed With Russia 78

  - Dual Citizenship, Border Accords *[ITAR-TASS]* 78
  - Yeltsin Interviewed on Ties *[ITAR-TASS]* 79
  - Kozyrev Comments *[ITAR-TASS]* 79

CAUCASUS

Armenia

- President, Delegation Return From Ashgabat *[Yerevan Radio]* 81
- President Calls On Azerbaijan To Renounce Aggression *[ARMENPRES]* 81
- Karabakh Ministry on Azerbaijani Attacks *[Yerevan Radio]* 81
  - Minister Warns War Might Intensify *[Yerevan Radio]* 82
  - Azerbaijan Resumes Offensive *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
- Foreign Minister Sends Message to Iranian Counterpart *[Yerevan Radio]* 82
- Iranian Delegation Discusses Gas Pipeline *[Yerevan Radio]* 82

Azerbaijan

- Armenian Military Offensive Reportedly Stopped *[TURAN]* 83
- Aliyev Comments on Statement to CIS Summit *[Baku TV]* 83
- Aliyev Hopes Russia Can Stop Armenian Aggression *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 25 Dec]* 83
  - Further Aliyev Comments *[Baku TV]* 84

Georgia

- Security Ministry Office Damaged in Explosion *[Tbilisi TV]* 84
  - Security Ministry Issues Statement *[IBERIA]* 85
  - Defense Ministry Issues Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
  - Shevardnadze Orders Investigation *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
  - Shevardnadze Issues Statement *[Tbilisi Radio]* 86
  - Giorgadze's Actions Condemned *[Tbillisi Radio]* 86
- Shevardnadze-Led Delegation Leaves for Ashgabat *[Tbilisi Radio]* 86
  - Shevardnadze Comments on Return *[ITAR-TASS]* 87
- Shevardnadze Discusses Relations With Yeltsin *[Berlin BERLLNER ZEITUNG 21 Dec]* 87
- Russian Foreign Ministry Delegation Arrives *[Tbilisi Radio]* 88
  - Meets With Shevardnadze *[ITAR-TASS]* 88
- 'Memorandum of Understanding' With Abkhazia Published *[NOVAYA GAZETA Dec]* 89

Results, Official Reaction

Figures for Party Support, Duma Seats Released

LD2512164893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] The elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly were held on December 12, 1993.

As many as 225 deputies on the base of equal representation were to be elected from the single federal constituency in accordance with the Provision on the elections of deputies to the State Duma in 1993.

A total of 35 political parties, political movements and other public organizations could nominate candidates to the deputies. They submitted to the Central Electoral Commission 21 single federal tickets for registration. As many as 8 electoral unions which have failed to collect the required number of voters' signatures (100,000) were excluded from the election campaign.

In accordance with the Provision on the elections of deputies to the State Duma in 1993 the Central Electoral Commission has registered the single federal tickets introduced by 13 electoral organizations with the total composition of 1756 people. As many as 43 candidates were withdrawn from the tickets and the number amounted to 1713 candidates to the deputies.

According to the protocols submitted to the Central Electoral Commission by the district electoral commissions, a total of 58,187,755 (54.8%) out of 106,170,835 registered voters participated in the voting.

The district electoral commissions recognized valid 53,966,818 bulletins.

The electoral unions received the following number of votes:

The Agrarian Party of Russia	4,261,398	or 7.9%
The Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc	4,227,526	or 7.83%
The Future of Russia-New Names	672,368	or 1.25%
The Russia's Choice	8,300,138	or 15.38%
The Civic Union in the name of Stability, Justice and Progress	1,038,245	or 1.92%
The Democratic Party of Russia	2,969,449	or 5.50%
The Dignity and Compassion	375,531	or 0.7%
The Communist Party of the Russian Federation	6,664,057	or 12.35%
The Constructive Ecological Movement "Cedar"	406,855	or 0.75%
The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	12,297,293	or 22.79%
The Party of Russian Unity and Concord	3,648,537	or 6.76%
The Political Movement "Women of Russia"	4,369,521	or 8.10%
The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms	2,191,655	or 4.06%
Against all the tickets voted	2,271,998voters	

The electoral unions the Future of Russia - New Names, the Civic Union in the name of Stability, Justice and Progress, the Dignity and Compassion, the Constructive Ecological Movement "Cedar," the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms will not participate in the distribution of the deputies' mandates under provision 38 of the Provision on the elections of deputies to the State Duma in 1993 since their single federal tickets received less than 5% of votes.

The distribution of the deputies' mandates among the electoral unions the tickets of which received more than 5% of votes was as follows:

The Agrarian Party of Russia	21
The Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc	20
The Russia's Choice	40
The Democratic Party of Russia	14
The Communist Party of the Russian Federation	32
The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	59
The Party of Russian Unity and Concord	18
The Political Movement "Women of Russia"	21

A total of 225 deputies were elected to the State Duma from the single federal constituency. The list is to be published.

Rules on Registering Deputies

LD2312222393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Nikolay Ryabov, the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, has sent a telegram to the chairmen of District Electoral Commissions. The telegram says that in connection with queries received, the Central Electoral Commission clarifies that the registering of the State Duma deputies elected from single-seat constituencies, and the handing out of their identity cards, will be carried out providing that elected candidates submit a written notice that they are resigning from posts that are incompatible with the status of deputy of the State Duma to the relevant electoral commission within three days of the day of the publication of the final election results by the Central Electoral Commission. They must also submit a personal letter or a telegram indicating the date and the number of the resignation decree or order.

The above-mentioned deadline will be calculated from midnight of the day following the day of the official publication of the final election results.

If the requirements stated in Point 1 of this telegram are not fulfilled, the registration of the relevant deputy will not be carried out, and the identity card of the State Duma deputy will not be handed out. In this case the District Electoral Commission will send the relevant report to the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission.

Electoral Commission Issues Decree on Constitution

PM2412164193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Decree issued by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission signed by Commission Chairman N.T. Ryabov and Commission Secretary V.A. Zagulyayev in Moscow, 20 December 1993: "On the Results of the Nationwide Vote on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] A nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation submitted by the president of the Russian Federation was held 12 December 1993.

On the basis of protocols from district electoral commissions on the results of the vote on the constitution of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has determined that 58,187,755 registered voters, or 54.8 percent, took part in the nationwide vote.

There were 32,937,630 voters, or 58.4 percent of the voters taking part in the vote, who voted for the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

There were 23,431,333 voters, or 41.6 percent of the voters taking part in the vote, who voted against the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

On the basis of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission protocol, dated 20 December 1993, on the results of the nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. The 12 December 1993 nationwide vote on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation is deemed valid.

2. The consitution of the Russian Federation is deemed adopted by nationwide vote.

3. The text of the constitution of the Russian Federation is to be submitted for official publication simultaneously with this decree by the newspapers ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and by ITAR, as well as for mass publication by the "Yuridicheskaya Literatura" Publishing House.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 20 December 1993

Official: Most Servicemen Voted for Zhirinovskiy

LD2312184593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—"Most Russian servicemen voted for the Liberal-Democratic Party during the December 12 elections. Press reports on this score are correct," Vladimir Smirnov, assistant chief of the Analytical Centre of the Presidential Administration, responsible for social and economic policy, informed ITAR-TASS today. (President Yeltsin told a press conference here on Wednesday that one-third of the Russian servicemen had cast their ballots for Zhirinovskiy).

Smirnov noted that the compact billeting of career officers and the results of the vote at closed polling stations, set up for the rank and file, provided a general picture of party preferences in the Army and Navy, contradicting statements by officials of the Russian Defence Ministry.

An analysis of the voting, Smirnov claims, shows that servicemen have reacted in this particular way in protest "to their deceived expectations linked with the military reform, toughened regime in the Army, and arbitrariness of commanders". Smirnov believes also that this is "due to the current educational work in the Army, which has reshaped the Communist doctrine into a national-socialist ideology". He believes that Zhirinovskiy's demagogy "had worked" in the Army "due to the inconsistency of military leaders, who had railroaded through some military laws, which are infeasible at the given juncture. As a result, they could not ensure the timely payment of money allowances to servicemen".

"All this is explained by the fact that the Armed Forces are closed off from the rest of the Russian society and there is no presidential or government control over the Army," Smirnov said. He believes that the growing influence of national-socialist ideas on the Armed Forces poses a real threat to the security of Russia and to the development of democracy in the country. It testifies to the poor moral and psychological state of the Armed Forces.

Smirnov thinks that the situation in the Army could be improved by "a set of urgent organisational, personnel, legal, financial, economic, and informational measures".

Filatov Comments on Formation of Pro-Yeltsin Party

LD2312183893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 23 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Kremlin Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov says the need for creating a pro-Yeltsin party that the President mentioned about during Wednesday's news conference is prompted by a new presidential election due in 1996. The question is not one of forming such a party but of how to create one, Filatov told Interfax. In his view, the Russia's Choice [RC] bloc can form the backbone of a pro-Yeltsin party.

The Kremlin official says he will hold on to his job despite being elected to the State Duma on RC's list. Filatov said he stood in elections to back up the RC but would give up his seat in favor of another RC candidate.

He said he would remain as Chief of Staff because of impending administration reform envisaged by the new constitution.

Filatov says the administration is in need of a strong analytical center as part of efforts to improve information gathering and analysis. He complained about lengthy reports that took two days to read instead of an hour he could normally afford.

Filatov called for updating information and analytical structures orientated both at the president and the mass media.

Part of the presidential staff responsible for contacts with the Federal Assembly will be substantially reformed, he said, pointing by way of example to the U.S. president's similar structure which is in permanent contact with the Congress on the basis of cooperation. Filatov said the Russian President also had an appropriate structure but it had failed to strike rapport with the previous parliament because of opposition from Ruslan Khasbulatov and leader of the parliamentary factions Vladimir Novikov.

At present, it is the administration's regional management department which is responsible for contacts with the new parliament, he said. However, Filatov believes this structure must be divided. Other structures which can act as a link between the President and the Assembly include Yeltsin's state and law department and the commission of legal propositions. Filatov says all of this can help create a uniform system to keep in touch with deputies, committees, and commissions of the new parliament. Filatov also called for adopting a regulation on civil service as soon as possible.

The Chief of Staff said pro-democracy factions were negotiating the question of nominating their own candidate to the post of Speaker of the State Duma. He mentioned among possible candidates Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray of the Party of Russian Union and Concord, former ambassador to Washington Vladimir Lukin, former foreign trade minister Sergey Glazyev of the Democratic Party of Russia and leader of the Women of Russia faction Alevtina Fedulova.

IF Note: Russia's Choice is considering leading human rights campaigner Sergey Kovalyev as its candidate for the post, one RC leader, Sergey Yushenkov, told Interfax.

Filatov said that the coordinating committee of pro-democracy factions was due to meet to discuss the issue soon. "If agreement is reached, there will be no repeat of what happened three years ago when it took more than 20 days to elect a parliamentary chairman," the Kremlin official said.

Previews Work of Duma

LD2312234893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2036 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Unscheduled interview with Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] A meeting with Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, began with discussing the work of the commission on preparing the first sittings of the State Duma. The conversation, however, has soon turned into a prognostic debate on the new Russian parliament. Sergey Filatov, by the way, announced that he was not going to leave his post and would be in contact with the State Duma as the head of the president's administration. Sergey Filatov thinks the main parliament's work will be concentrated in the committees: each bill will stay in a relevant committee for quite a long time. In Filatov's opinion, this will guarantee that each document will be studied in depth. The deputies will not have to vote hastily for unread bills. And the parliament speaker will not have an opportunity to play the role of conductor. However, the conversation about the new parliament began by discussing the chairman of the State Duma.

[Filatov] It seems to me that the speaker and the parliament are different things. The speaker should be a person who has good organizational skills and who is absolutely honest and decent as regards the parliament and the state. A person who can make himself not exceed the powers given to him. This is a very difficult post.

[Correspondent] The opinion is in circulation now that the speaker's post is the object of horse trading of a kind. They say, if Shakhray is approved for the post of the speaker of the State Duma, it will mean the media will sing in unison with Russia's Choice.

[Filatov] [Konstantin] Zatulin [leader of the Entrepreneurs for New Russia association; allied with Russian Unity and Accord Party] said the media will not have any contacts with Russia's Choice. So I don't know what is true. I think it is more likely that not the chairmanship in the State Duma but the arrangement of forces in the committees and commissions will be the object of horse trading because these are the key posts at present.

[Correspondent] The opinion that the arrangement of forces in the parliamentary committees will play a very significant role is based on the fact that it is not expected there will be a permanent majority in the parliament.

What directions of the reforms will be curtailed, or, shall I put it this way, will suffer if the democrats prove unable to unite their votes?

[Filatov] Well, there are many dangerous moments here. You see, the biggest danger coming from the Supreme Soviet in the past was its absolutely unjustified leaning toward the social sphere. Should there be such a leaning toward distribution of money again, it will end with a catastrophe, because no economic reform can survive this. The most important thing the government has done to date, in contrast with last year—you remember, there was enormous inflation towards the end of that year, and it took two or three months to supress it somewhat. Today we are entering the new year with a tolerable level of inflation.

[Correspondent] Sixteen percent.

[Filatov] Yes. And this trend should be encouraged further. If the parliament supports this trend we shall be getting out of crisis more rapidly. If the whole system is to become proinflationary again, this will mean a war or the crashing defeat of all the reforms. If we are again to embark on political discussion today, we shall, as before, be pulling away in different directions. Everyone will be again defending his own views, likes, and dislikes and so on. No one needs this. Today people do not need political analyses. What we need today is to carry on with our reforms. Therefore, we should be talking specifically about specific laws that we need today. And we have a whole package of such laws already prepared—constitutional and federal laws that outline directions in which the constitution and reforms should be developing. And I think that we can find common ground here after all. All the factions are also saying the same thing and believe in this. Many of them say that they are coming there not to squabble, but to work. They do not need this constant quarrelling. And we shall be removing those who come there to quarrel from this process altogether.

[Correspondent] Can you mention at least one draft law that points at theoretical possibility of accord among Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, Russia's Choice, and Yavlinskiy?

[Filatov] You mean there should be no contacts with Zhirinovskiy's faction at all? But Zhirinovskiy's faction, as such, with its composition, does not determine the vote on any issue.

[Correspondent] But in combination with the Agrarian Union and Zyuganov, this is already....

[Filatov, interrupting] They cannot muster enough votes to block any law, they cannot. They cannot block even a constitutional law. According to the data available here, it seems they are going to have only 66 people of the 450. As you can see, he alone will not block anything on his own. But a group can succeed in blocking. So people can unite for constructive purposes or for applying a brake. Who do you think Zhirinovskiy will join to apply a brake?

[Correspondent] In my view, there are many people whom he can unite with. Maybe with Zyuganov or the Agrarians on certain issues.

[Filatov] On what issues, for instance?

[Correspondent] Well, on all issues from the social sphere, for instance. They all are pushing these beautiful slogans and are ready to unite under these slogans. It is another matter that these slogans do not entail any practical deeds, and this precisely is the most frightening thing.

[Filatov] Then let us look at the goals and tasks of each of them. In any case, I proceed from the conversations I have had. I have had conversations with Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, too, and I can repeat his words with absolute precision. He said he is prepared to work constructively and without scandals but, naturally, he states his absolutely firm position to the effect that he does not accept reforms as they have been shaped by Gaydar and will be irreconcilable in upholding this position. On what issues—on all the issues of economic reform, taxation policy, or privatization—I do not know.

[Correspondent] It seems to me that the opinion is not without basis that the Zhirinovskiy-Zyuganov-Agrarians union will, perhaps, have a large number of votes against the opinion of the democratic blocs who are in a somewhat perpendicular position with regard to each other. And this is a big threat. And, perhaps, this means that there might be a very sharp turn in the course of the economic reforms, that their direction might significantly change.

[Filatov] It might. There is such a danger. But for such a law to be submitted to the president for signing, it has to go through numerous stages.

[Correspondent] If only a week ago one could assume the State Duma would be characterized by a polarity of judgments, now, it seems, one can talk of centrism or parliamentary swamp, whichever description you prefer.

[Filatov] I would only like to stress one thing: it seems there will be no once and for all arrangement of forces, although there might be one such option. I can see now that individual leaders are making attempts to push Russia's Choice to one side and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia to the other side—as if to make them represent the two extremes and to form the center of a kind. It is not accidental that even before the duma began its work, some, not militant, but arrogant statements are being made: we are not going to have anything to do with these, or to be in contact with those and so on and so forth.

For example, Zatulin's speech yesterday—perhaps you heard it—they now have an urge to say they will have nothing to do with Russia's Choice. Evidently, the phrase was not accidental. It seemed to be a call on all those who have a negative attitude to Russia's Choice to unite. This can be regarded as a call for forming the center.

For example, in the old parliament we never regarded the Communists as the center. They were extremists who were in the absolute opposition to the reforms and, on the whole, to everything that was being done in the state. Now they are being called on to join the center. The calls are moderate and quiet but in reality we know what is behind them. Behind them is a completely different state, different approaches, and a different reform altogether.

Therefore we are talking here about making the work of the factions and factions' leaders very intense, profound, and meaningful, because, most likely, it is their interaction and their work that will determine the predictability all of us are dreaming about so that we know exactly what to expect when the parliament convenes.

[Correspondent] At present one can say with certainty only one thing: the first sitting of the State Duma will be held on 11 January. It will open with a report by the Central Electoral Commission in which the legitimacy of the new legislative body is to be confirmed.

Blocs Hold Meetings To Prepare for Duma

MK2512124093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 4

[Olga Garbuzova, Nika Stark report: "Preparations for Sessions Begin With Closed Meetings"]

[Text] Yesterday the first session of the organizing committee to prepare the work of the State Duma was held in the Kremlin, attended by representatives of all eight blocs and six regional zones of Russia that have made it into parliament. It was decided that preparations for the first session of the State Duma will be made by four deputies commissions which will first meet on 27 December.

The organizing committee session, which was opened by presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov, was attended by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Yegor Gaydar, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Ivan Rybkin (from the Agrarian Party), Yekaterina Lakhova (Women of Russia), Vladimir Kozhemyakin (Party of Russian Unity and Accord), Viktor Kobelev (Liberal Democratic Party), Deputies Aleksandr Braginskiy (Central Region), Mark Goryachev (Northwestern Region), Yuriy Brusnitsyn (Ural Region), Yevgeniy Gusarov (Greater Volga), Yegor Zhitkov (Siberian Region) and Boris Zamay (Chernozem Region).

According to information from reliable sources, the session, which was held behind closed doors, decided to create four deputies commissions from among representatives of all the blocs to make preparations for the first session of the parliament's lower chamber. Apparently the question about the candidate for the post of speaker of the State Duma was raised only indirectly: All those present agreed that it calls for a discussion but no one, in the words of one of the participants, sought to impose his own ideas.

Meanwhile, without waiting for the organizing committee's decision, the executive committee of Russia's Choice also held a closed session yesterday. It set up a commission to work out rules of conduct for the parliamentary faction. There are two drafts—by Boris Zolotukhin and by Vladimir Bokser. Zolotukhin's variant is tougher, prescribing unanimous voting by the entire faction. Under Bokser's variant, on routine matters faction members vote independently but on especially important issues there is to be a "solidarity vote." Kiril Ignatyev, a commission member, told KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent that Zolotukhin's document is the main one.

Party Reaction

Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, Shakhray Fail To Form Coalition

LD2412213493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The blocs of Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, and Shakhray have failed to agree on forming a coalition in the new parliament. Yegor Gaydar has told this to the members of the Russia's Choice executive committee. According to him, the result of the talks was an acknowledgement in principle that agreed actions in the State Duma on some concrete issues were possible.

Said To Agree on Lukin as Speaker

LD2512201293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin, one of the leaders of the bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin, can become speaker of the RF [Russian Federation] Federal Assembly's State Duma. Leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord Sergey Shakhray reported to Interfax on Saturday that Lukin's candidacy has been coordinated with the bloc Russia's Choice, Russian communist party, Yavlinsky's bloc, Agrarian party, and the movement Russia's Women.

A meeting with representatives of the election associations was held on Saturday in the Central election commission. Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central election commission, pointed out that in general representatives of the associations had recognized the results of voting to the deputies of the State Duma on the federal lists presented to them.

At the same time Ryabov reported that several associations, in particular, Russia's Choice, had raised an issue stating that there had been violations in several election districts during the calculation of votes.

Russia's Choice Denies Report

LD2512204293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Russia's Choice has held no consultations with Zyuganov's Communist Party and certainly not on the matter of nominating the speaker of the State Duma, the Ekho Moskvy radio station reports Russia's Choice senior secretary Sergey Yushenkov as saying. He said that Sergey Shakhray's allegation that Russia's Choice and the Russian Communist Party had agreed to nominate Vladimir Lukin to the post of speaker gives rise to perplexity. Russia's Choice, Sergey Yushenkov commented, intends to nominate its own candidate to the post of chairman of the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly; the nomination has not yet been finally settled, however, Ekho Moskvy reported.

Gaydar Calls For Austerity, Admits Adjustment

MK2312142093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Bekker report in the "Prospect" column: "The Reformers Want Enlightened Authoritarianism. Yegor Gaydar Warns Against Panic"]

[Text] Addressing a session of the Interaction club on 21 December, Yegor Gaydar advised to curb the panicky mood that has affected part of society after the elections. In his opinion, compared to September 1993, the situation has not changed radically. The country will still have a polarized parliament through which "it is difficult to pass well-conceived economic legislation." As soon as the Duma starts its work, the economy minister expects an attack on a number of Boris Yeltsin's edicts issued after 4 October. Nonetheless, in the opinion of the Russia's Choice leader, the numerical superiority of the pro-reformist deputies will allow these attempts to be blocked. Moreover, the new constitution, expanding the possibilities of a presidential veto, serves as an additional guarantee against "destructive and irresponsible laws like those adopted by the previous parliament."

In this context, Mr. Gaydar is convinced, the role of the president and the government in conducting their policy through executive branch institutions increases. According to the first vice premier, "we have paid too high a political price for the anti-inflation course of the last four months not to use the accumulated thrust to address fundamental economic problems" which primarily include attracting investments to the national economy. Yegor Gaydar considers society's reaction to the government's tough financial measures as natural, but he described as "dangerous" the appeal to neutralize it, yielding to the temptation "not to notice" the difference between 15-percent and 25-percent monthly inflation. He recalled that in mid-1992 and in mid-1993 the country was all but engulfed by hyperinflation and warned against repeating this mistake next year.

The pro-inflation policy, the vice premier noted, is especially risky in the political respect because its futility will not become obvious until the second half of 1994, in other words, on the eve of 1995 by-elections to local self-government bodies. In fact the democrats may give the opposition cause for sharp criticism of the government, a good chance to get "their own" heads of kray, oblast, and rayon administrations and also fair starting positions for the 1996 presidential campaign. According to Yegor Gaydar, such an alternative should sober up many of those reform advocates inclined, under the impression of State Duma election results, to weaken the financial stabilization policy. Of course, the first vice premier pointed out, this does not rule out certain adjustments being made in the government's course. They will in particular relate to antitrust policy and support for small entrepreneurship.

During the discussion of the current political situation, members of the reform club came to the conclusion that Russia is not as yet ready for pure liberal democracy of the Western type. In place of the former discredited elites the country has received a political figure which, in the expression of political scientist Urnov, "has concentrated the hitherto dissipated nationalist extremism." Because the country lacks democratic traditions and it will apparently be impossible to "bake" a "middle class" within one to one and a half years, the sole option capable of preventing a fascist coup in Russia is the transition to "enlightened authoritarianism." It should be based on a deliberately cultivated oligarchy—a political and economic elite advocating liberal democratic positions. Specifying the term "oligarchy," reform club members subsumed under it representatives of big business, market oriented joint-stock company directors, and power structure leaders who support reform.

Burbulis Views Need for Party With 'New Blood'

LD2712141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1335 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—The president needs a "new blood" party, Gennadiy Burbulis, president of the humanitarian and politological centre "Strategy" and a leader of the Russia's Choice bloc, said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday.

Burbulis is convinced that "Russia and the president need a party overcoming a syndrome of familiar faces and orientating itself on a new generation of politicians and fresh forces. It will expand the association both territorially and on a professional plane".

In his opinion, "the understanding of the need for setting up a party by all democratically-minded citizens of Russia" is one of the main results of the general elections.

The Russia's Choice co-founder believes that the new party will unite those "who personally support the president and are loyal to him", as well as those who are convinced of the need for coming closer together to protect democratic reforms in the country".

Burbulis is convinced that "many have understood the need for joining a political organisation with a clear-cut platform in the face of a revenge by fascist-communist forces". Therefore, the centre's president noted, "the establishment of a purely presidential party is highly improbable now".

Forecasting the future parliament's work, Burbulis said that "it is possible to establish a supra-bloc democratic coalition". It could include various election associations, "the main aim of which will be to maintain stability in the country".

Russia's Choice is already conducting consultations with some blocs. But cooperation is most probable with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's bloc, he continued.

Democratic forces should draft a new style of political coalition for successful work at parliament. "If we are able to ensure a coalition political culture, parliament will work, and the country will be protected from unpredictable situations," the centre's president stressed.

Turning to plans for the future, Burbulis refuted rumours about his possible transfer to the president's office, since he sees "his main role in setting up a full-blooded party of a democratic liberal edge".

Therefore, Burbulis intends "to concentrate on work at Russia's choice parliamentary group and on creation of truly coalition activities at parliament".

Boldyrev on Danger From 'Radicals' of Left, Right

MK2312120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Vadim Nesvizhskiy report from St. Petersburg under the "Opposition" rubric: "'Yabloko' Will Not Join Anti-Fascist Front? Yuriy Boldyrev Ready To Set Up a Coalition Against the 'Left Wing' and the 'Right Wing'"]

[Text] "I do not think that we should presently talk about a coalition of democratic forces against anti-democrats," Yuriy Boldyrev, who was elected to the Federation Council from St. Petersburg together with Aleksandr Belyayev, said yesterday at a press conference in St. Petersburg City Council. Yuriy Boldyrev believes that now they should strive to set up "a coalition of responsible forces to counter both left-wing and right-wing radicals." It is easy to guess that by the latter Yavlinskiy's closest ally means the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] and "Russia's Choice"—it was about the extremism of these blocs that Yuriy Boldyrev was speaking at length. "If the question of adjusting privatization mechanisms or land reform arises, I think it is entirely possible that we will find ourselves siding with the Communists," Mr. Boldyrev said, adding that it was precisely on account of policy supported by "Russia's Choice" that there was an imminent danger of Communists or fascists coming to power. Yuriy Boldyrev conceded that he opposed "Yabloko's" Mr. Nesterov's withdrawing his candidacy in favor of Mr. Vdovin, an "electable" candidate from "Russia's Choice" (it will be recalled that as a result Mr. Vdovin missed the State Duma by just 1 percent of the vote and was overtaken by Aleksandr Nevzorov). "I do not think that it would have made sense to withdraw our bloc's candidates so as to pave the way to the parliament for those whose activity actually facilitates the arrival of fascists," Yuriy Boldyrev believes. Consequently, "Yabloko's" struggle against fascism in St. Petersburg has degenerated into a struggle against "Russia's Choice," but in Aleksandr Nevzorov's support.

Saying that his bloc is seriously counting on support by other factions in parliament, Yuriy Boldyrev threatened that "unless the force that has been backing the president and that continues to see itself as ruling pays heed to our advice, we will relinquish any responsibility for the fascists' subsequent arrival in power." To all appearances, however, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's comrade-in-arms does not see a big difference between the LDPR and "Russia's Choice"—"As early as 1989 I said that life would not be better if the democrats come to power," he proudly pointed out. According to Aleksandr Belyayev, his colleague in the Council of the Federation, "If 'Russia's Choice' continues to stir up 'artificial hysteria' about Zhirinovskiy's victory, all factions in parliament will join forces against the two—the Liberal Democratic Party and 'Russia's Choice.'" In any event, Mr. Belyayev believes, the proposed bloc will apparently be set up without "Russia's Choice."

Mr. Boldyrev stated: "We agreed to participate in elections that were forced upon us according to their rules of the game and we will work in this body till the end."

LDP Not To 'Seek Confrontation' in New Parliament

LD2412202293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1649 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party's [LDP] deputies will not seek confrontation in the new Russian parliament and will try to be a constructive opposition, one of the party's leaders said.

Stanislav Zhebrovsky, deputy to LDP chairman Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, told Interfax the party would back "any sensible law or proposal regardless of who it comes from" and would be willing to cooperate with other parties. Zhebrovskiy, who has been elected to the State Duma, hopes that "sensible proposals made by the LDP" will also receive support and that the State Duma will become a "normal European parliament."

He said his party was against "shock therapy" in the economy, standing for "slow reforms meeting the interests of various social groups."

Zhebrovskiy said the LDP, following its success at the December 12 election, where it won about 70 seats in the new legislature, was rapidly growing, dozens of people applying for membership every day. The membership dues are one percent of one's "declared monthly income," he said.

Zhebrovskiy believes the LDP has support in all strata of society. But he said the party had few members considering themselves "ill-fated" and demanding "revolutionary" and "radical" measures.

Zhebrovskiy, 51, is today editor of the LDP's newspaper Liberal. He and Zhirinovskiy jointly drew up the party's charter and program for its founding congress in March 1990. Zhebrovskiy said he had met Zhirinovskiy 10 years ago, both of them working at that time at Moscow's Mir Publishers, a firm publishing literature on science and technology.

He said Zhirinovskiy had not changed his views, above all those on the need to defend Russians' rights, over the past few years.

Party Termed 'Centrist'

LD2412153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow December 24 T[illegible]-The Liberal-Democratic Party considers itself [illegible] a centrist organization; it will soon bring an ac[illegible] against persons calling Zhirinovskiy's supporters fascists, deputy chairman of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party and "shadow cabinet" vice-premier Aleksandr Vengerovsky told ITAR-TASS here today.

Vengerovsky, 40, is a radio engineer and specialist in computers and information science. Former member of the Soviet Communist Party, he joined the Liberal-Democratic Party in 1991 and was elected member of its Supreme Council, the collective ruling body, at the latest party congress.

According to Vengerovsky, the party has 115,000-120,000 members. The recent increase in membership seems to be time-serving. "It is easy to join our party and leave it," said the deputy party chairman. A small admission fee is enough to do it. The core of the party is "scientific-technical elite," including representatives of the military-industrial complex.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was the one to create and consolidate the party. However, all major decisions have been approved by the party's Supreme Council since summer. This body includes party members who are not widely known to the public. Anyway, Zhirinovskiy has "a powerful intellectual team," said Vengerovsky.

In his opinion, they have a "classic liberal-democratic party, a centrist party". According to Vengerovsky, the Liberal Democrats do not spread the ideas of fascism or anti-semitism (although many pronouncements of the party leader make one doubt).

"We would like to remind to persons describing us as fascists we are a party that has not lost a single trial. We do not involve in any quarrels but it will all end in a normal action against those shamelessly calling us fascists," said Vengerovsky.

Being a "centrist party," the Liberal Democrats plan to play a "stabilizing role" in the new parliament. It is ready to "help the president to reinforce his team". However, it will not be offended if not offered ministry posts. The Liberal-Democratic Party will not demand resignation of the government and it estimates the activities of Viktor Chernomyrdin pretty high.

Vengerovsky refuted rumors claiming the party's election campaign was financed from abroad. "We were not helped by Germany or other foreign states," he said. The election campaign cost 250 million roubles to the party. The majority of this money was donated by party members and supporters.

Ex-associate of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy Andrey Zavidiya, who some time ago participated in the elections together with Zhirinovskiy as a candidate for vice-president, told ITAR-TASS the party is looking for money to pay one billion roubles for its televised addresses.

Former Financial Backer Ends Support

MK2412110593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed ITAR-TASS report under the "Scandal" rubric: "Zavidiya Is Offended and 'Cuts off Oxygen'"]

[Text] Andrey Zavidiya, one of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's main comrades-in-arms until recently, thinks that a majority of members of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] do not share their leader's "fascist views" and that internal squabbles will now inevitably begin in the party where Zhirinovskiy "has established a dictatorship," reports ITAR-TASS.

Andrey Zavidiya, president of a diversified concern called "Galand," was Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's running mate in the 1991 presidential elections. Zavidiya financed the foundation of the Liberal Democratic Party of the USSR. The president of the concern provided funds for Zhirinovskiy's previous and recent election campaigns. In the words of Andrey Zavidiya, this time he provided money "via third, even tenth firms, rather than directly."

Zavidiya's oratory is accounted for by the fact that he has just fallen out with his recent comrade-in-arms.

"I sealed his victory, then he went on to strike me from the deputy list; that offended me and I parted with him," Zavidiya says. Zavidiya has "began withdrawing his men from the party" where they account, according to him, for 60 to 70 percent. Moreover, he has ordered his enterprises to stop paying Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and to demand that he pay his debts. "I have cut off his oxygen," he adds.

Andrey Zavidiya says that the LDPR leader's current financial position is unenviable—"he is drowning in debt." Zhirinovskiy owes 1 billion rubles for television alone because payments on the letters of guarantee have only been made partially.

Zavidiya refers to himself as a rank-and-file communist, adding that he regularly exchanges phone calls with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of Russia. In his words, "Nearly 10 percent" of LDPR members hold communist convictions. Zavidiya maintains that the LDPR has no base at all while half of the candidate list consists of people from "Galand" enterprises.

Agrarians, DPR, Communists Continue Consultations

LD2312223393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Deputies-Agrarians in Russia's Federal Assembly "continue their active consultations with the communist and democratic parties on interaction in the future parliament." In addition, a group of experts from the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR], Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], and Communist Party of Russia [CPR] are developing "an economic program to draw the country out of the country" together with the representatives of the bloc Russia's Women and independent deputies, former deputy of RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet Ivan Rybkin, one of the coordinators of the election association Agrarian Party of Russia, told Interfax.

Experts of these four organizations have "radically revised" the time-limit of work of the State Duma and the provision on the status of a deputy of Russia's new parliament proposed by the presidential commission on legislative proposals. The experts "have reached an agreement" concerning the structure of the committees and commissions to be formed by the State Duma.

The association's coordinator explained that this is primarily caused by the wish "not to delay solution of several organizational issues" at the beginning of the new parliament's work and "to quickly start solution of painful issues of lawmaking without loosing the time."

Representatives of the APR, DPR, CPR, and Russia's Women "have practically concluded" their consultations on the candidacies of future head of the State Duma, his deputies, and leaders of committees and commissions, Rybkin reported. However, he refused to call any names saying that "he does not think that anybody of the present vice premiers who were elected to the deputies of the State Duma at the December 12 elections" would be elected to the State Duma chairman.

Travkin Denies DPR Joining Communist-Agrarian Faction

MK2512121093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, by Vladimir Nazarov, under the "Personalia" rubric; place and date not given: "Will Travkin Join the CPSU?"]

[Text] According to as yet preliminary results, the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] will have 17 seats in the State Duma—too few to pursue an independent line in parliament, but the Travkinites' support for any bloc may prove decisive in the vote. I think that this is why all factions without exception are interested in winning the DPR over. A rumor, taken up by journalists, has already began circulating that Nikolay Travkin is going to form a bloc with the Communist Party and the Agrarian Party. A reader has called and asked somewhat maliciously whether it is true that Travkin is going to join the CPSU again. Just kidding. Only kidding?

Rumors keep multiplying, so I asked Nikolay Ilich to answer a number of questions.

[Nazarov] Will the DPR set up its own faction or will it join a larger one that is close to the DPR's views as an integral part?

[Travkin] We will, of course, set up our own faction, which will comprise around 25 or 30 people. I hope that a number of independent deputies will join us.

[Nazarov] Nikolay Ilich, voters know only the troika of those with whom the DPR ticket begins—Travkin, Govorukhin, Bogomolov. Would you introduce some other people who share your views.

[Travkin] Of course! Sergey Zapolskiy, a lawyer, who headed a department of the then Soviet Union Justice Ministry and who is now chief of a large law firm that protects entrepreneurs' interests both in Russia and abroad. Valentin Kotlyar, an entrepreneur of the first wave, who is presently deputy chief of the Voronezh Oblast administration. Nikolay Tropin, chairman of the Tyumen bar association. Yes, these people were hitherto known only locally, but I hope that soon all of Russia will come to know them.

[Nazarov] Nikolay Ilich, there are rumors about the Communists, Agrarians, and the DPR forming a joint bloc. This is hard to believe, given that your party had been set up as an anticommunist one...

[Travkin] There is no and cannot be such a bloc. But there have been consultations, and I am not going to make any bones about that. You know, when we are sailing on one ship and someone begins drilling holes in it... Everyone may drown in this situation: the communists, the democrats, even the entire country. Now is not the time to be finicky, you will accept any help so as not to let them drill more holes and to close those through which water is streaming...

[Nazarov] What do you refer to as dangerous "holes?"

[Travkin] Privatization as it is unfolding, for instance. Look, even Luzhkov has started fighting against it. As for "journalists" who "admitted" me to the Communist Party, they should be happy that the communists and anticommunists are reaching agreement, not fighting.

[Nazarov] Will you support Zhirinovskiy as well?

[Travkin] Everything will depend on his party's stance.

[Nazarov] Nikolay Ilich, are you sure that your faction will be monolithic?

[Travkin] Yes, I am. Everyone who entered the State Duma on the DPR ticket shares the same political views.

[Nazarov] It seemed to me, though, that Govorukhin may just as well split from you to set up his own faction. What if he joins the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia? He was so passionate in defending Zhirinovskiy in a news conference...

[Travkin] This is a misconception.

[Nazarov] If you were given the privilege to be the first to address the State Duma, what tone would you choose?

[Travkin] A peaceful one. People expect constructive work from the deputies they elected. Everyone is tired of political blabber.

Communist Party Leader on Tasks in State Duma

LD2512171593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 25 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow December 25 Tass—The Russian Communist Party has assessed the results of the parliamentary elections as its success and the success of the opposition on the whole.

Communists have called on all factions of the new parliament to "work in a 'round-table' mode," party leader Gennady Zyuganov said at a meeting of the party Central Committee in Moscow on Saturday.

Zyuganov recalled that his party candidates received 12 per cent of votes. He believes that 58 per cent of the voters expressed "opposition feelings of varying degree." Those include people who voted for the Liberal Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Agrarian Party, as well as those who voted against all candidates.

One of the distinctive features of the elections was "the downfall of centrism" as parties and organisations of centrist orientation received only seven per cent of votes.

The "existing contradictions between the leadership of our party and the leaders of other communist parties" are one of the "sad political results of elections," Zyuganov stressed. He accused the latter of their "unwillingness to recognise the existing realities."

Other parties of communist orientation called for boycotting the elections. Zyuganov said that the majority of rank-and-file members of the Communist Party "acted against the will of their leaders" and voted for Communist Party candidates. Nevertheless, "the task of establishing a union of the Russian Communist Party remains very vital," he added.

Speaking about his party activity in the new parliament, Zyuganov said that the party has held consultations with the Agrarian Party and the Democratic Party of Russia and reached "understanding on key questions."

The Communist Party is determined to continue these discussions with factions in a "'round-table' mode." In the State Duma Communists will vie for "the restoration of legality," establishing an independent commission to investigate into the October events, working out a practice under which a government will be formed with consent of the parliament, denunciation of the shock therapy and changing the economic policy.

Agrarian Leader on State Debts, Threat to Harvest

MK2512131093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Agrarian Party on State's Debts to Agrarian Sector"]

[Text] Mikhail Lapshin, leader of the Agrarian Party, has stated that the government "simply expropriates the greater part of products of the agrarian sector, and has long been its insolvent debtor." The state's debt to the agro-industrial complex at the end of 1993 is 1.5 trillion rubles. Another 1.5 trillion rubles, according to him, is the debt for "all sorts of grants and subsidies." The president had promised in the meeting with the leaders of 13 election blocs, Mr. Lapshin said, that the state would settle with the peasants on 1 December, but Yegor Gaydar made a different promise in that meeting—that debts would not be paid up "either on 1 December or 1 January." If the debts are not paid up, the party leader declared, "the spring sowing in Russia may become disrupted."

EFP's Borovoy on 'Tragedy' of Recent Elections

MK2312134093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Gleb Cherkasov report under the "Radicals" rubric: "Borovoy Predicts Zhirinovskiy's Growing Stronger and Thinks That Government Is 'in a Coma'"]

[Text] Konstantin Borovoy, leader of the Economic Freedom Party (EFP), held a press conference devoted to the elections results, the political situation in the country, and the EFP's immediate plans. The party did not manage to put forward a federal list and had to limit itself to support for its candidates in one-candidate districts in the 12 December elections for the Federal Assembly. The EFP will be represented in the State Duma by five deputies.

Having described the parliamentary election results as a "tragedy," Mr. Borovoy showed restrained pessimism regarding the prospects of the democratic movement, Russian parliamentarianism, and the very process of reforms in Russia. "Instead of becoming a constructive, stabilizing force, the new Russian parliament may turn into an arena of embittered struggle and provoke growing political instability."

In the words of Mr. Borovoy, there is a rather potent danger that the authorities will follow a tactic of "appeasement" toward "Zhirinovskiy's party" while he builds up his qualitative presence in parliament and in the public mind. An EFP statement distributed at the press conference points out that "all attempts at flirting and compromises with fascist and communist forces in parliament may lead to the stronger influence of these forces, and—in the economic sphere—to greater inflation, aggravation of social tensions," which would amount to "renouncing reforms, a tough course along all lines, militarization of the country, and exacerbation of relations with foreign states." Konstantin Borovoy remarked that the president's staff and the government are "in a coma." "The hope for resolute actions is weak."

Mr. Borovoy thought it necessary to congratulate the Russian Ministry of Security on a great political victory, referring to a "Lubyanka" origin of the Liberal Democratic Party and the main source of its financing. At the same time, the veteran of Russian entrepreneurship abstained from a characteristic of the business circles that give Mr. Zhirinovskiy financial support, only remarking that this is "a tangle of state security and the military-industrial complex."

In the opinion of Konstantin Borovoy, one of the causes for the defeat of the democratic forces was the monopolization of power by a narrow group of democratic politicians fused with the official[illegible]d unwilling to enter into a dialogue with opponents from the democratic camp. In the opinion of the EFP leader, the monopolists should move up a bit and make room for democratic opposition if they do not want fascists coming to power. "It seems to me, however, that they have learned nothing," Mr. Borovoy concluded with sadness.

Speaking about prospects and plans of the EFP, Konstantin Borovoy signaled coming changes in the party but he would not say what they are. He also told journalists about his efforts to organize a congress of entrepreneurs which may result, Mr. Borovoy thinks, in the formation of a bloc of political organizations of businessmen. The EFP is beginning preparations for the next elections and, its leader thinks, it may have a successful showing in them "provided, however, that the next elections take place."

SDPR Leaders Want New Constitutional Conference

MK2512100093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[Gleb Cherkasov report under the "Party Life" rubric: "Social Democratic Party of Russia Proposes To Convene New Constitutional Conference and Intends To Face Up to Voters"]

[Text] Russian political parties continue to assess the results of elections for the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the draft new constitution. Yesterday, leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Russia [SDPR], which was part of the Yavlinskiy election bloc, met with journalists to tell them what they thought about the outcome of the 12 December voting.

Having recognized that the new constitution had been passed and was virtually in force, the Social Democrats pointed to "extreme power imbalances" and called upon the president to accept precisely the same amount of responsibility that coincides with the amount of powers given to him by the new constitution. According to an opinion current among the Social Democrats and their allies in the election bloc, however, the newly passed text should become a fundamental law only for the transition period. For the adoption of a longer-lasting constitution, a new constitutional assembly independent from all branches of power should be elected by national voting.

SDPR Chairman Andrey Golov—nearly the only member of the party who became a Duma deputy—hoped for fruitful work of the supreme legislature which, as he put it, has to "flesh out the skeleton of the new constitution."

Speaking about the relative success in the elections for Mr. Zhirinovskiy's party, SDPR leaders noted "excessive emotions on the part of the voters" and expressed regret at the inability of representatives of democratic parties to conduct a vigorous election campaign. According to Mr. Golov, the SDPR intends to introduce serious corrections in its own political activity so as to "face up to the voters."

Independent Deputies To Establish Own Faction

LD2612142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1319 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] A meeting of the independent politicians who had been elected to the Federal Assembly from the single-mandate constituencies took place in Moscow on December 26. According to the press service of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, they decided to establish their own faction in the State Duma.

Members of this parliamentary faction will join no political parties or electoral unions represented in the parliament. The independent politicians believe that such faction will contribute to implementation of their pre-electoral platforms and will be the best way to defend interests of their voters.

The meeting's participants also considered a Declaration concerning the faction's tasks and the draft documents worked out for the opening of the Federal Assembly.

A special Organization Committee was established to lead the faction preparing for the opening of the State Duma.

International Reaction, Media Analysis

Bulgaria Reacts to Zhirinovskiy Statements

LD2712132193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1203 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Abrosimov]

[Text] Sofia, 27 December— The Foreign Ministry of Bulgaria "has viewed with bewilderment the utterances and assessments made by the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LPDR] who is in the country on a private visit," says a statement on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's stay here which was circulated today by the press center of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry. Such pronouncements about the policies and the system in the Republic of Bulgaria, the document notes, are inadmissible from the point of view of international law and represent a relapse into the old ways. They do not help strengthen the Bulgarian public's perception of the irreversibility of the democratic changes in the foreign-policy orientation of Russia's leading political forces. Moreover, such pronouncements scarcely help stabilize the already difficult situation in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry notes that it has taken into consideration the statement by the Russian Federation's Embassy in Sofia about "the private nature of the pronouncements by the State Duma deputy and LDPR leader." The sovereign and independent policies of the Republic of Bulgaria, and the equal bilateral relations with the Russian Federation, are based only on Bulgarian national interests and the principles of international law, it stresses.

U.S. Now Appraising Results 'Much More Calmly'

PM2712115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Americans Calm Down and Decide To Help with Advice Rather than Money"]

[Text] Without resorting any more to the expression which became a catchphrase virtually overnight—"Less shock, more therapy for Russian people"—Ambassador at Large Strobe Talbott was especially cautious in formulating the form that additional aid to Russia might possibly take.

To put it more accurately, the ambassador indirectly responded to criticism heard from the U.S. mass media. Observers have not accepted the thesis that a cure (therapy) is possible without any sharp modifications to incorrect behavior (shock). Ernesto Hernadez-Cata, deputy director of the IMF—an organization which came under tough verbal pressure during Vice President Al Gore's Moscow visit—indicated that the Fund is quite resilient toward criticism: "We will advance as fast as possible. But if this means subscribing to a bad program which would worsen the situation, we will not do it." And MIT Professor of Economics Stanley Fisher bluntly said that, even for Russia's sake, the World Bank and the IMF are simply not in a position to do that which is demanded of them.

Of course, the better is the enemy of the good and, in this context, the vice president will find it easy to get a positive response.

Therefore, the initial impression—that the United States apparently intends to use all its clout in the World Bank and the IMF to ensure, for example, the unfreezing of the $1.5 billion from the G-7 which has simply failed to materialize by year's end—is obviously hasty. No special exceptions will be made for Russia.

The Russian military's broad support for Zhirinovskiy was also being discussed much more calmly than a week earlier. "While in Moscow last week," Talbott said, "and following numerous meetings and conversations with the Russian military and Defense Ministry leaders who played some part in the Gore-Chernomyrdin meeting, we sensed that this vote is considered—especially in the military ministry—as an expression of protest, grievances, and disagreement with the military's hard living conditions."

As for any possible influence by Zhirinovskiy on Russia's foreign policy, Talbott's statements were distinguished not only by confidence but also by sarcasm. Russia's foreign policy will be formulated only by the president who has "clearly stated that, under the Russian Constitution, fascism and extremism are illegal."

It was not only the liberals' interest that was fanned by the high degree of alarm expressed by the U.S. Administration in the first days following the Russian elections.

It is important for the Republican opposition to get it on record that, during his European tour, Clinton will stop not in Warsaw but in Prague, only because Poland with its powerful lobby is capable of more energetically demanding full NATO membership.

In exactly the same way, Clinton is being accused of opting for a stop in obedient Belarus rather than in refractory Ukraine. The Russian ultranationalist, these critics believe, is helping Boris Yeltsin to present Bill Clinton with a tough choice: Either I will pursue Moscow's tough policy in the former Union, or the same policy but in an even tougher form will be pursued by this or the next demagogue.

Compostion of Zhirinovskiy Base Analyzed

MK2412121093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov report in the "Sociology" column: "The LDPR (Liberal Democratic Party of Russia) as a Party of the Soviet Working Class. Not Everything About It Is Foreign to Gaydar's and Yavlinskiy's Electors"]

[Text] Sociological surveys suggest that the disagreements among the leaders of apparently democratic voters associations have proved to be less substantial than the differences between their and their electors' views. Whereas the electorate of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Party envelops all groups of the population whose political orientation is quite stable, at the opposite end of the spectrum the situation is totally different.

Polls conducted on the eve of the elections showed that in its views, for instance, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc's electorate was substantially farther removed from its leaders than the latter from the leading figures in the Russia's Choice bloc. It is hard to imagine Grigoriy Yavlinskiy seriously advocating the restoration of state price controls while, according to the All-Russian Central Public Opinion Research Institute (VTSIOM), 41 percent of those who were going to vote for his party on 12 December expected precisely such actions from the bloc's candidates. Likewise, more than half the Yabloko supporters supposed that the bloc would demand that the government render financial assistance to the enterprises (a thesis proclaimed by the LDPR leader).

VTSIOM experts have obtained data suggesting that Yabloko's electorate on many counts is identical with the LDPR's. Moreover, an analysis of the social profiles of the leaders of political parties that contested the elections showed that with all the similarity in demands made on a politician by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's electorate, Mr. Yavlinskiy, in the electors' opinion, does not match Zhirinovskiy's decisiveness and commitment to national traditions. VTSIOM has come to the conclusion that the LDPR has won part of Yabloko's electorate over to its side.

It is obvious, however, that part of Russia's Choice supporters also constitute a reserve for Zhirinovskiy's party. Approximately 40 percent of those who supported Russia's Choice in the VTSIOM poll admitted, for instance, the need for financial support of enterprises on the part of the state. Approximately one-tenth of this group cited Vladimir Zhirinovskiy among the politicians they trust.

While sympathies for the Communists are shared mainly by elderly people with secondary education who are experiencing financial difficulties, VTSIOM sociologists have provided a somewhat unexpected profile of LDPR supporters: These are "men of an active age, employed mainly in the state industrial sector, with mid-level qualifications," working at less than thriving enterprises in small towns in Russia (with a population of up to 100,000).... Apparently it would be wrong to suggest that these are impoverished strata. The latter, it seems, have cast their ballots for the Russian Federation Communist Party only 3 percent of whose supporters, according to VTSIOM, had an income over 100,000 rubles a month. Those who have supported the LDPR tend to belong to the average income brackets.

The VTSIOM studies have shown that the LDPR electors stand apart from the others in their irritation and anxiety. Their misgivings primarily relate to Russia's losing its great power status, which was enjoyed by the USSR, and the weakness of state authority in the country. Sociologists also claim that identification with the "Soviet people" is very essential for Zhirinovskiy followers.

All this suggests that the LDPR is recruiting its allies mainly from among the Soviet working class, in contrast to the Communists, whose electors have moved out of the working class by virtue of their age. Therefore the LDPR is quite legitimately ousting the Communists from the role of the main opponent to the reformers. A fear arises that it will be very difficult to stop Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's growing influence by political maneuvers. What is needed is rather accelerated reformation of economic relations which, in theory, should lead to the emergence of a new proletariat, one devoid of "Soviet" qualities.

Presidents Arrive in Ashgabat for CIS Summit

Snegur, Shevardnadze Comment

LD2312195393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1721 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Upon his arrival in Ashgabat President Mircea Snegur of Moldova told journalists that he expects the upcoming Commonwealth summit to stimulate efforts to implement the treaty on forming an economic union.

"I think we all understand that the economic situation in the CIS countries has reached the critical point where it's essential to resolve the problem of coordinating investment policy, pricing policy, taxes, and other economic issues," Snegur stressed.

According to him, Moldova will take an active part in discussing today's political issues, such as the rights of ethnic minorities, and in making decisions on them.

Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said that the questions on the summit's agenda are extremely important and that a solution to them would provide a resolute step on the road towards an economic union.

Akayev Views Draft on Ethnic Rights

LD2312184393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev called the draft agreement on the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities the most important of all the documents submitted for consideration by the CIS summit. Speaking before journalists in the Ashgabat airport, the Kyrgyz leader said he believed that "ethnic minorities' concern over their rights is the source of instability in the CIS."

"I pitifully regret that very little of the whole document has survived—only a declaration styled to the CSCE and Human Rights Paris Charter," Akayev said. He added he would like to introduce three points in the document such as setting up a mechanism to address under representation of ethnic minorities in the power structures and judicial bodies, the constitutional protection of their rights "in the context of their ignorance of the official language" and an agreement on dual citizenship.

Among other items of the summit agenda, Akayev highlighted setting up a payment union and an interstate bank, efficient procedures for the Collective Security Council and a document on coordinating taxation and customs policies.

On his arrival in Ashgabat, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said Kazakhstan intended to effectively work within the CIS in future. "All the points on integration and strengthening economic union to be discussed here are our initiatives," he pointed out.

Asked whether Ukraine was ready for a dialogue with Russia on nuclear arms, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said that "the dialogue had already begun. The question must imply another level of negotiation. This is another story, and our experts are working on it."

CIS Heads of State, Government Meet in Ashgabat

Shokhin on Heads of Government Meeting

LD2312205693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] The next session of the Council of heads of CIS governments is to be held in Minsk early next March, Russia's Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin reported in his interview with Interfax Thursday [23 December] (Shokhin participates in the session of the Council of heads of CIS governments in Ashgabat, the Turkmenian capital, in the composition of the Russian delegation). Shokhin also added that Armenia had been elected to chair the Commonwealth's Coordinating-Consultative Committee for the next half of the year. Earlier Shokhin himself headed the committee.

According to the vice premier, the present session has studied all documents included into the agenda; at the proposal of the Russian party the issue on the coordination in the sphere of prices and taxes policy was taken off from the agenda. "This document is obsolete from the moral point of view. More advanced agreements, in particular, on unification of monetary systems, have appeared over this time," he noted.

Shokhin said that signing of the documents has been postponed till Friday on technical reasons because they have received too many amendments. However, there are no contradictions between participants of the session, noted Russia's vice premier.

Shokhin called the agreement on the cooperation in the sphere of investment activity among the most important documents. In his words, this agreement will grant status of national regime to foreign investors (non-residents) from the CIS countries. According to the previous agreement, non-residents from the Commonwealth's countries were equal to foreign investors, he said.

Shokhin also mentioned the agreement on cooperation in the industrial and production spheres. This document stipulates that taxes will be removed from deliveries of final products destined to joint production. In his words, this would help to make previous technological ties more active. He said that he views such documents as an important move towards formation of CIS Economic union.

Shokhin reported that an agreement on trade-economic cooperation between Russia and Ukraine is to be signed on Thursday evening. He also does not rule out possibility that Russian and Ukrainian Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk will meet in Ashgabat. "There are several issues both of economic and strategic nature, namely problems of nuclear weapons and Black Sea Fleet though there are certain advances on these issues at the expert level," noted vice premier.

Summit Opens; Agenda Previewed

LD2412[illegible]2193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0526 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuriy Sizov, Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat, 24 Dec—The agenda of the latest CIS summit which opened here today includes issues connected with implementing the treaty on setting up an economic union and ways of furthering integration. The summit began with a meeting of CIS heads of state and heads of government behind closed doors. Following will be a plenary sitting, which is expected to review a range of documents concerning the main directions for economic cooperation within the Commonwealth.

During the meeting, agreements on cooperation on investment activity and coordinating pricing and taxation policy are expected to be signed. The signing of a declaration on developing cooperation and reinforcing trust in relations between CIS states and a convention on providing for the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, cultural, or religious minorities is also planned.

Yeltsin Elected CIS Chairman for 1994

LD2412103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuri Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 24 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin was unanimously elected by CIS heads of state to the post of chairman of the Commonwealth of Independent States for 1994, Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov announced today, opening a plenary meeting of the CIS heads of state council here.

The Turkmen leader said that the summit participants were to discuss a broad range of problems linked with cooperation and to examine ways for raising its effectiveness. "Our only goal," he stressed, "is to raise the living standards of our peoples. It is vitally important to save all the good things that had united our peoples over many past decades.

"Mutual trust, dependability, equality, and mutually advantageous partnership must constitute the basis of our inter-state relations. The future of our peoples, their security and stability depend on the level of interaction among CIS nations. The two-year history of the Commonwealth of Independent States proves that only in conditions of a constructive dialogue and multilateral consultations with due account and respect for the positions of our partners will it be possible to really strengthen the political and economic independence of CIS nations, to ensure a high level of their integration," he said.

Niyazov informed the participants of the meeting that a closed door session of the CIS Heads of State Council approved on Friday morning Turkmenistan's motion to revise the provisional regulations, procedures, and other normative acts of the CIS. It was also decided to elect chairmen to conduct meetings of the heads of state council for terms of six months according to the rotation principle. In his opinion, this will raise permanent interaction within the framework of the CIS to the highest ever level, will create a new atmosphere of responsibility, will make the mechanism for settling the most important problems more effective.

"This procedure," he noted, "will allow us to make prompter and more concrete the work of CIS executive bodies, will facilitate the solution of organizational, procedural and other matters between meetings of the heads of State Council."

News Conference Held

LD2412105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0943 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuriy Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 24 TASS—The CIS summit was rounded off here today by the signing of practically all the 21 documents prepared for it. The day was marked by Turkmenistan's accession to the economic union as a fully-fledged member, which completed the formation of a single CIS economic system of an open type. The summit meeting also decided to set up a functional presidential organ, elected for six months. The right to head it was entrusted to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

A press conference was held after the summit. It was described as an exceptionally fruitful meeting, which allowed the Commonwealth to embark on a new course of interaction, based on mutual trust and bilateralism, meeting the requirements of the states wishing to cultivate their relations on equitable and mutually advantageous lines. These principles are set out in the Ashgabat declaration which ranks among the most important documents of the summit.

Turkmenistan Joins Economic Union

LD2412102893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1016 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovoskaya, Yuri Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 24 TASS—Several documents were signed by participants of the CIS summit here today, including an agreement on Turkmenistan's accession to the economic union as an associated member. It says that "the nations, parties to the Commonwealth of Independent States, guided by the Economic Union treaty and taking into account Turkmenistan's statement on its recognition of the absolute majority of provisions and articles of the Economic Union treaty as set out in the text of the treaty, have agreed:

Turkmenistan, as a sovereign independent nation and member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, fully assumes all the commitments envisaged by the Economic Union treaty.

Turkmenistan accedes as an associated member of the economic union to the commitments assumed by the contracting parties, members of the economic union, to settle disputed problems, linked with the interpretation and implementation of the treaty, through bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

The states, members of the economic union, recognise Turkmenistan as an associated member of the economic union enjoying the rights and honouring the commitments, laid down by the economic union treaty and the present agreement."

CIS To Coordinate Prices, Taxes

LD2412114493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1044 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuri Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 24 TASS—An agreement to coordinate the policy of prices and taxes was signed at the CIS summit here today.

The sides have agreed to be guided by the following principles in their prices and taxes policy:

The sides shall conclude corresponding bilateral and multilateral agreements in order to avoid doulbe taxation and to prevent evasion of taxes;

The sides shall all levy the same value-added tax of 20 per cent in order to ensure their economic interests and to prevent the redistribution of means among them in the course of mutual deliveries of goods and commodities;

The sides shall not apply export duties (export taxes) during mutual deliveries of goods and commodities.

The sides shall apply an agreed procedure for fixing the net cost of production (outlays) and determining the financial results of the work of economic subjects, including bookkeeping and statistics. The sides shall set up within one month from now an expert working team, made up of their plenipotentiary representatives, to draw up the drafts of corresponding normative documents.

The sides shall use the double taxation prevention mechanism, envisaged by their legislations, in the period before the conclusion of bilateral agreements to avoid double taxation.

Free (contractual) prices, fixed with due account of the integration of the domestic markets of the sides involved, shall be used in mutual trade. If need be, the sides concerned shall coordinate the level of prices for the most important goods and commodities exchanged among them.

Summit Concludes; Yeltsin, Kravchuk Meet

LD2412123593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Report by T. Orlova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The work of the leaders and heads of states of the CIS member countries in Ashgabat continued virtually all night. In particular a meeting took place between Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and [Ukraine's] Leonid Kravchuk. Replying to a question by an Interfax correspondent, Yeltsin stated that this meeting had been fruitful and he expressed the view that in the near future a great deal change could change for the better in the relations between Ukraine and Russia.

[Orlova] The meetings of Commonwealth member states has ended in Ashgabat. This time the presidents quickly found a common language; by 1200 [Moscow Time, 24 December] the results became known. Of the 24 issues put on the agenda 22 were adopted—all but two insignificant ones. The signing of the statute on the provisional application of the treaty on the creation of an economic union was the most important event: Turkmenistan was accepted today as a full member of this union. This statute makes it possible now, without waiting for the treaty to be ratified by all parliaments, for each state to enjoy the advantages of economic integration.

Under the pressure of the presidents the question of immediate measures to implement the collective security treaty was again tabled and adopted—at the joint meeting of foreign and defense ministers yesterday this question it had been taken off the agenda following a proposal by Russia and Azerbaijan. It looks as if all presidents were satisfied with the meeting and at the end of it many said that the Commonwealth had got its second wind.

Investment Agreement Signed

LD2412151293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuriy Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat, 24 December— At the session of the heads of states and governments of the CIS countries, an agreement has been signed on cooperation in investment activity.

It says, inter alia: "Acknowledging the important significance of deepening mutually-advantageous economic cooperation, common interests, and the advantages of coordinated approaches in devising and pursuing investment policy, it has been agreed: that the sides cooperate in devising and implementing investment policy vis-a-vis the economic subjects of states which are not party to the present agreement and international organizations with the aim of ensuring mutual protection of the interests of the sides in this field."

Five years after signing the present agreement each side has the right to come out of the agreement after informing the depository in writing no less than six months before coming out of it.

'Ashgabat Declaration' Adopted

LD2412173493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1303 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Ashgabat, 24 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The CIS heads of state, "fulfilling the will of our peoples," express "our adamant resolution to expand and strengthen traditional historical relations of friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding between the CIS states," says the text of the Ashgabat Declaration on the development of cooperation and building up of confidence in the relations between the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The declaration was adopted at the summit of the CIS heads of state held in Turkmenistan's capital today.

The participants in the meeting advocated preserving everything positive that has connected peoples of the CIS countries for decades of common history in politics, economy, culture, humanitarian ties, and personal relations and to develop cooperation at a qualitatively new level. Respect of sovereignty, mutual trust, openness, and an equal and mutually beneficial partnership should become the foundation of the interstate relations.

The document says the CIS leaders should demonstrate the utmost wisdom, self-possession, readiness for reasonable compromises, good will, and responsibility for their utterances and actions with regard to their CIS partners and refrain from any manifestations that could be regarded as interference in internal affairs, limitation of the interests of sovereign states, and lack of respect for peoples' national dignity.

The CIS, the document says, "is an open organization, which aims to create conditions for the political and socioeconomic development of the states whose peoples have made their choice in favor of building a democratic society that makes it possible for every sovereign state to realize its choice in line with the national peculiarities of its peoples.

"We deeply believe the combined political, economic, and humanitarian potential of the CIS member-states is a powerful guarantee in resolving the historic objectives facing our peoples," the declaration says in conclusion.

Further on Documents Signed

LD2412203393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1704 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuri Sizov, Gennady Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 24 TASS—A meeting of Commonwealth State and government heads ended here today with the adoption of several documents, including an agreement on fulfilment of resolutions of Commonwealth courts and courts of arbitration.

Recognizing the need for common approaches to administration of justice on economic issues, equal protection of rights and interests of economic subjects on territory of the Commonwealth, the CIS state heads adopted the agreement to regulate the implementation of the treaty "on creation of economic union", including administration of justice by Commonwealth courts of arbitration and economic courts.

They also adopted

- a resolution on organizational-financial aspects of the Commonwealth economic court;

- an agreement on state social aid to families of servicemen killed in Afghanistan and other states-areas of combat operations;

- an agreement on pensions and state insurance of staffers of interior bodies of Commonwealth member-states;

- a resolution on interstate radio-navigation program of Commonwealth member-states;

- an agreement on interstate transportation of dangerous and hazardous cargo;

and others.

Participants Comment on Results

LD2412230393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The meeting of CIS heads of state ended today with the signing of 21 documents; that is to say, practically all the documents prepared for the Ashgabat summit meeting. Russian President Boris Yeltsin was elected as chairman of the CIS for the first six months of 1994.

[Unidentified correspondent] It seems that starting from today the icy formality that has for two years totally characterized relations within the CIS, hampering their natural development, has begun to melt. The optimism comes not so much from the substantial list of key issues on the agenda as the wish finally realized to begin cooperation on a new mutually responsible basis and to give up an oversimplified approach to interstate relations. As a result, Turkmenistan today became a full member of the economic union and Georgia has joined the CIS.

[Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia] The decision is a right one. The people have appraised the political and economic situation in Georgia. Although we are late in joining and are the last, as they say, to do so, the decision is right, and the people understand the reasons for it.

[Correspondent] The meeting considered three sets of issues covering almost all spheres of interstate relations. However, it was dominated by the economic theme and in this respect all the participants were unanimously thought there is simply no other choice than economic integration within the framework of a single economic union.

[Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov] This is a framework agreement, where we all recognize the common provisions of the economic union, but specifically agreement on particular points—the movement of money, the movement of goods, and customs services—will be concluded as experience is amassed and taking the views of each side into consideration.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless key documents were signed in the course of the Ashgabat meeting on cooperation in the area of investments and on co-production, including direct links between all members of the CIS, and a number of other agreements.

As for the documents on collective security, they will be ready for signing in the very near future.

[Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev] In considering these issues we agreed, first, to sign the treaty itself in the form in which it was drawn up by the experts, without the amendments proposed by Russia and Azerbaijan. Second, to elect a Russian general secretary for six months. The proposals, which will be examined before the next meeting by groups of experts, will be prepared under the same secretary's guidance and submitted at the next meeting.

[Correspondent] So that the activities of the CIS become more flexible and dynamic, the council of heads of state took the decision to introduce the post of chairman of the organization. This post will for six months from the beginning of January next year be held by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. The Ashgabat meeting ended with the adoption of a declaration on the development of cooperation and the strengthening of trust in relations between the member states of the CIS. The meeting has instilled the hope that henceforth the principle of mutual understanding will begin operating in practice and not just in words.

Newspapers Assess Results of CIS Summit

Summit Called 'Fruitful'

PM2412170093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko and Vladimir Kuleshov: "CIS Economic Union Getting Stronger and Stronger"]

[Text] The meeting of heads of state and government in Ashgabat may be regarded as fruitful.

First of all, the delegation of Turkmenistan was persuaded that the country should join the treaty on the creation of the CIS economic union. The formation of a single economic system of Commonwealth countries which is open in nature was thus concluded.

To the great surprise of journalists, items concerning the implementation of the Treaty on Collective Security, signed in May 1992, were virtually completely removed from the meeting's agenda, as was the item on the stabilization of the situation in the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border sector. As far as the former is concerned, here, according to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, the nub of the conflict amounted to Russia and Azerbaijan's having made amendments to the Treaty on Collective Security which many people found not to their liking. Moreover, as the defense minister stressed, Russia cannot agree with the position of Azerbaijan, which is seeking to direct the essence and thrust of the treaty toward resolving internal conflicts, notably the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, rather than averting a foreign threat.

During the heads of government talks Russian Federation representative Shabannikov was elected general secretary of the Collective Security Council. The creation of a functional presiding [predsedatelstvuyushchiy] organ, to be elected for a six-month term, was an innovation.

"The results of the meeting will yet be the subject of serious analysis by experts and economists," V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, stressed. "We have united today for the first time on an economic rather than a political basis. Work must be developed to the point where we have a single ruble area."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Results

PM2712135593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts article: "Ashgabat Meeting Ends. Door to Economic Union Remains Open"]

[Text] The signing by Russia and Turkmenistan of an agreement on questions of dual citizenship and the regulation of migration processes provided an unusual prologue to the meeting of heads of CIS states in Ashgabat on 24 December. As Boris Yeltsin noted at the official ceremony marking the opening of the Russian embassy in Ashgabat, the dynamics of Russian-Turkmen relations "may serve as an example for many states of the CIS" now.

The accords in question confer on any citizen of Russia and Turkmenistan the right to be a citizen of both states at the same time without foregoing the rights and freedoms pertaining to his place of permanent residence. In addition, an individual who has citizenship of both countries and has completed military service in one state is exempt from the draft to military service in the other state. As for migrants, they also retain all their socioeconomic and personal rights and the opportunity to dispose of property and savings at their own discretion when transferring to a new place of residence.

The treaty on the joint protection of Turkmenistan's state border and on the status of servicemen of the Russian Federation Border Guard Troops on its territory is also of great significance to both countries. The document provides that the protection of the state border will be carried out by Turkmenistan's Border Guard Troops together with an operational group of the Russian Federation Border Guard Troops under joint command. Servicemen of the operational group and members of their families, according to the treaty, are guaranteed safety and legal and social protection. Russian Federation servicemen will not be called upon to carry out tasks unconnected with the protection of the state border with the exception of clearing up the aftermath of natural disasters and catastrophes.

On the same day the foreign ministers and defense ministers of the CIS states held a joint session where they adopted a decision on recommending to the heads of the CIS states that they extend by one year the presence of CIS Border Guard Troop subunits on the Tajik-Afghan border. The previous treaty whereby Kazakhstani, Uzbek, and Kyrgyz Border Guard Troops together with Russian Border Guard Troops protected the CIS border in that region expires on 1 January.

At the same session the question of priority measures to implement the Collective Security Treaty, which was item one on the agenda, was removed at the Russian side's request. As Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev explained, this is due mainly to Azerbaijan's stance. The question of considering the nomination of general secretary of the Collective Security Council was automatically removed from the agenda.

The session of the Heads of Governments Council, which was held in the Assembly building, discussed three sets of questions, one of them on the implementation of the Treaty on the Creation of the Economic Union. The CIS heads of governments also adopted a decision on the publication beginning in 1994 of a newspaper entitled "SNG: OBSHCHIY RYNOK" [CIS: Common Market] which will appear once a week and consist of 16 pages. The founders of the new newspaper are "OBSHCHAYA GAZETA" and all the member-states of the CIS.

The potential of bilateral contacts was also actively exploited in Ashgabat. Russia will give help in creating the Turkmenistan Armed Forces—that is the main point of the agreement on cooperation in the military sphere which was signed by the Russian and Turkmenistan defense ministers. Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, rated the agreement highly. He noted that specific questions on the creation of the Turkmenistan Armed Forces will be handled by around 2,000 Russian officers serving on Turkmenistan's territory. Pavel Grachev also appraised positively other areas of mutually beneficial cooperation in the military sphere.

The Ashgabat summit meeting ended with the signing of 21 documents—virtually all prepared on the eve of the meeting. The event of the day was Turkmenistan's entry into the Economic Union as a full member, which completed the formation of the CIS countries' single economic system, which bears an open character. Another innovation was the creation of a functional chairmanship organ. By unanimous decision of the CIS heads of states, Russian President Boris Yeltsin was elected chairman of the CIS for 1994.

The Ashgabat Declaration was adopted on the basis of the results of the meeting in the Turkmen capital, marking the new character of cooperation based on mutual trust and the key mechanism of bilateralism [dvustoronnost] which corresponds to the needs of the states to deal with one another on an equal and mutually beneficial basis.

Ukraine, Russia Discuss Oil, Gas Prices in Ashgabat

LD2412143193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1120 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Ashgabat, [no date as received]—[passage omitted] In the words of [Ukrainian] Vice Premier Valentyn Landyk, Commonwealth agreements were concluded between Ukraine and Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. The signing of an agreement with Russia is planned for 24 December.

Commenting on the results of the talks in Moscow, on completion of which he arrived in Ashgabat, Valentyn Landyk announced that Russia would sell to Ukraine around 60 billion cubic meters of gas at the price of 60 dollars per tonne. Given that this year's gas price was 80 dollars per tonne, in Valentyn Landyk's words, it is a considerable concession. The volume of oil deliveries should be around 25 million tonnes at an anticipated price of 80 dollars, rather than the earlier price of 100. Thus, in the deputy premier's view, there should not be any price hike that has been talked about in the context of energy carrier price rises in Russia. Valentyn Landyk thinks that Russia's concession was made to happen both by falling world oil and gas prices and the Russian attitude of partnership.

The issue of nuclear weapons was also discussed at the Moscow meeting.

"SS-19 warheads should urgently be withdrawn since their guarantee period is ending. So compensation guarantees were stipulated: Russia is ready to pay us with both [nuclear reactor] fuel elements and money," said Valentyn Landyk. It was decided that Ukraine's debt to Russia, which is around 800 million dollars, should be prolonged and paid off gradually. In Valentyn Landyk's words, these proposals are acceptable.[passage omitted]

On 23 December, a meeting was held between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and the president of the Republic of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze. At it, they considered issues of economic cooperation, a union of the Balto-Black Sea region's countries and the Ukrainian president's future visit to Georgia. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed his deeply-felt gratitude to the people of Ukraine for helping refugees, who had been fatefully forced into the mountains of Swanetia, and for the presence of the Black Sea Fleet in the area of Poti, which had a stabilizing effect.

Shokhin Denies Concessions Given

PM2712105393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by UNIAN's Mariya Starozhitskaya, especially for IZVESTIYA: "Russia Will Supply Ukraine with Cheap Oil and Gas"]

[Text] A Russian-Ukrainian trade and economic agreement was signed within the Ashgabat meeting's framework. It was prepared earlier, at the Moscow meeting between government delegations headed by Russian Federation Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin and Ukraine's Acting Prime Minister Yu. Zvyahilskyy.

Agreement in principle has been reached to supply Ukraine with 60 billion cubic meters of gas at approximately $50 per cubic meter and 25 million tonnes of oil (at $75-80 per tonne). According to Ukrainian Vice Premier V. Landik, this is a sign of a major concession, bearing in mind that this year Ukraine was purchasing gas at $80 and would have been forced to purchase oil at $100 in the new year.

All signs indicate that the latest agreement should eliminate the question of a fresh round of price increases—it was being planned by the Ukrainian Government for January on the basis of estimated price increases for Russian energy sources.

"The Moscow meeting was very, very advantageous for Ukraine," Ukraine's Acting Prime Minister Yufim Zvyahilskyy said. "The agreement will help to increase output volumes and will enable Ukraine to reduce the prices of its industrial output. Oil supplies will be organized, and the situation will stabilize."

Russian Vice Premier A. Shokhin's comment was more pragmatic.

"We have signed only the text of the agreement with Ukraine, the figures in it have yet to be agreed. As for the price of $75 per one tonne of oil, this applies to high-sulfur oil which is now used only at the Kremenchug refinery. We are keen on having Ukraine take up all our high-sulfur oil, because now we are forced to mix it with high-quality Siberian oil—quality deteriorates and prices drop. This is not a concession to Ukraine but an alignment of price with quality. We have no margin to aid other states during these difficult times," A. Shokhin went on. "First, the situation in Russia itself is difficult enough and, second, Ukraine owes a huge debt to Russia and has no funds to repay it. We and the Ukrainian side are examining all possible repayment options, including the conversion of debts into ownership. This would mean allocating a proportion of shares in enterprises, mainly those which Ukraine obviously does not need while Russia does, like, for example, the Khartsyzsk plant which produces pipes for 'Gazprom,' or the aforementioned Kremenchug refinery which can refine only Russian oil. We are looking at 30-40 percent shareholding. If Ukraine fails to take these steps, Russia will reach agreement with Belarus, Slovakia, and Hungary, and Ukraine will end up the loser."

Ukraine-Kazakhstan 'Rapprochement' Noted in Ashgabat

MK2512113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov report in the "Summit Meeting" column under the general headline: "In Ashgabat, CIS Leaders Were Meeting All Together and Separately. Ukraine-Kazakhstan Rapprochement May Seriously Influence the Future of the Commonwealth, While Armenia-Azerbaijan Estrangement Will Add to Its Problems"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In the course of the CIS summit it became known that on its eve a meeting took place between the presidents of Ukraine and Kazakhstan, who were staying in the same residence. Immediately after the meeting Leonid Kravchuk gave an interview to Kazakhstan TV saying that it is inadmissible to undermine Kazakhstan's state sovereignty and insult that country's leaders, apparently referring to the well-known TV statement by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and the ill-advised statements by some Russian politicians. Ukrainian Acting Premier Yukhym Zvyahilskyy noted that after the meeting between the Ukrainian and Kazakhstani presidents relations between the two countries received a fresh impetus primarily related to Kazakhstan's proposals about consolidating political and economic cooperation. This may result in a visit by President Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko to Kiev in January 1994. Tereshchenko believes that the positions of the two countries have always been fairly close; therefore one cannot talk about a new quality in their relations but only state that rapprochement between Ukraine and Kazakhstan continues. [passage omitted]

Observers point out that both Nursultan Nazarbayev and Leonid Kravchuk also met with Georgian Parliament Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze and, according to sources close to the head of the Georgian delegation, the leaders of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Georgia agreed to coordinate their positions in the future at conferences of CIS leaders. For Shevardnadze, this was his debut in the CIS and apparently his diplomatic artistry is now becoming a factor. Whereas Shevardnadze managed to bring Nazarbayev's and Kravchuk's positions closer together and whereas the presidents of Kazakhstan and Ukraine succeeded in coming to agreement on their own, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who will be CIS chairman for the next six months, will be confronted with a new and fairly unexpected lineup of forces within the Commonwealth, primarily connected with Russia's relations with its partner who has sincerely sought to improve relations with it (meaning Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev). [passage omitted]

Azerbaijani, Armenian Presidents Meet in Ashgabat

LD2312182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1749 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Ashgabat December 23 TASS—Presidents of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev and of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan met in Ashgabat, capital of Turkmenistan Central Asia, on Thursday [23 December] evening to discuss the possible settlement of their armed conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. The talks were mediated by President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan.

The presidents of the two Caucasian republics, who are in Ashgabat for a Commonwealth summit due to open on Friday, said in a joint statement for the press that they value the possibility of direct contacts. According to Levon Ter-Petrosyan they facilitate the dialogue which the two countries need to resolve the complicated problem that has been undermining their relations for five years. "It is good that such contacts take place and that we are not avoiding them," he said.

Ter-Petrosyan described as positive the meeting between the minister of foreign affairs of Azerbaijan and the first deputy foreign minister of Armenia in Paris on Wednesday during Geydar Aliyev's official visit to France.

According to Aliyev, he favors a peaceful settlement of the conflict and an immediate end to hostilities between the warring parties. Along with this he said that required conditions had not yet been created and the earlier accords broken. Direct contacts with representatives of the Armenian community in Karabakh have failed to help the process. Aliyev expressed regret about the dangerous developments in the area as a result of which a considerable part of Azeri territory has been seized. He said the situation in the conflict zone further aggravated after the first meeting of the heads of the two warring states in Moscow on September 25.

Saparmurad Niyazov conveyed to the leaders of the two countries a message from Michel Camdessus of the International Monetary Fund, which said this international organization was interested in the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict and ready to provide resources to Azerbaijan and Armenia to restore their badly shaken economies.

After their meeting behind closed doors, the two presidents told journalists that they would continue their dialogue on Friday.

Ter-Petrosyan Assails Azerbaijan

LD2412133093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1150 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that the hostilities in the Karabakh conflict were continuing because the Azeri leaders were "utterly unwilling to have the conflict resolved politically."

The Armenian leader told the CIS summit in Ashgabat that by rejecting the CSCE plan, Azerbaijan also refused to comply with the UN Security Council resolution.

Ter-Petrosyan also said that Azerbaijan has also been rejecting Russian mediation. In his view, the Russian initiative which "was welcomed by Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh" is capable of "providing a stable mechanism for a guaranteed cease-fire."

The Armenian leader said that Azerbaijan's Aliyev refused to meet him in Moscow on October 8, 1993, to discuss the Russian initiative.

This and the involvement of Afghan mujahideen and Turkish military personnel in the fighting on the Azeri side suggest that Azerbaijan wants to resolve the conflict by military means, dragging other countries into it, Ter-Petrosyan emphasized.

The Armenian president called on Azeri leaders "to face reality rather than pull propaganda stunts," give up attempts at resolving the conflict through war, and resolve all their problems with Nagorno-Karabakh by political means alone in line with generally accepted international principles.

CIS Defense Ministers Meet, Sign Documents in Ashgabat

Ukrainian Defense Minister Comments

LD2212204793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1533 GMT 22 Dec 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Defense Ministry is ready to conduct "constructive dialogue" on settlement of the issues concerning the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons situated on its territory with the Russian Defense Ministry and other parties concerned. This was announced by Ukrainian Defense Minister General Vitaliy Radetskyy at the meeting of the Council of the CIS Defense Ministers in Ashgabat (Turkmenistan) on Wednesday.

Radetskyy also pointed out that Ukraine was ready to take "the most active part" in the meetings of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers and wanted to have a permanent representative on the staff of the CIS United Armed Forces. In his words, the Ukrainian leadership and Defense Ministry reviewed their opinion on the CIS military bodies for coordination in which they had not participated before.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said when commenting on the statement of the Ukrainian delegation that this move of the Ukrainian party was unexpected for him. "This statement is encouraging. It shows the readiness of Ukraine to consider the issues at the level of the Council of the CIS Defense Ministers," Grachev remarked.

Russia Signs Defense Agreements

LD2312120593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At a sitting of the CIS Defense Ministers' council today in Ashgabat, the Russian military delegation signed bilateral treaties on military-technical cooperation with Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Armenia. One of the members of the Russian delegation told INTERFAX that these documents make it possible not just to develop military cooperation on a bilateral basis, but also to strengthen the CIS countries' collective security system.

Collective Security Treaty Discussed

LD2312191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1857 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Ashgabat December 23 TASS—The CIS foreign and defence ministers said at their joint meeting in Ashgabat on Thursday [23 December] they will recommend that their presidents extend the presence of their border troops on the Tajik-Afghan border for another year.

The agreement under which Kazakh, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Russian border guards patrol the border expires on January 1, 1994. If the presidents refuse to prolong it, the burden of border protection will rest solely with the Russian troops.

At the request of the Russian side the ministers withdrew from the agenda of the meeting the question of urgent measures to implement the Treaty on Collective Security. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev explained in his interview with ITAR-TASS that the request had been prompted by Azerbaijan's position. "None of the agreements on collective security has ever contained a single provision dealing with internal disputes between the members of the union. All agreements, as a rule, were directed to the outside, that is non-members of the union. Therefore the treaty needs corrections because it has to be supplemented with ideas of a peace-keeping mechanism in the event of a conflict between the participants of the agreement. This is a new practice. The consideration of this problem will require some time. It would be much easier to ignore it, but this is a wrong path."

As the ministers decided against discussing the Treaty on Collective Security, the question of a candidate for the post of secretary general of the Collective Security Council was removed from the agenda automatically.

Cooperation Documents Signed

PM2312181893 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts report: "Ashgabat: Collective Security System Acquires New Contours"]

[Text] Ashgabat—This is probably the first time there has been a meeting of the defense ministers of the Commonwealth countries like this. Military delegations from virtually all the CIS states have arrived in Ashgabat, with the exception of the Armenian military leadership.

The present meeting has a whole string of unusual features, determined not only by the items on the agenda. Many leaders of military departments have noted the spirit of goodwill and compromise that has prevailed during the talks. First and foremost in relation to the important section dealing with the reorganization of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Command. A number of questions of a financial nature must also be resolved. Military cooperation within the CIS framework certainly remains within the field of vision. A second group of questions includes documents to ensure collective security and to bring the mechanism for it into operation.

The first session showed that the positions of a number of CIS countries on military cooperation have undergone some changes. As was indicated, in particular, by the speech by Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy. However, the Ukrainian military leader stated that he is not yet ready to sign any official documents on adhering to the Treaty on Collective Security, since Ukraine is a state that does not belong to blocs. But it is noteworthy that Ukraine agreed to be represented on the Council of Defense Ministers and wants its own representatives on the CIS Joint Armed Forces staff.

The first day's work resulted in the signing and initialing of a number of documents: a decision on the staff for coordinating military cooperation among the CIS states, as well as a statute on the CIS Military Cooperation Coordination Staff and appendices comprising drafts on proportional financial contributions. The matter of the signing of all the documents is not yet entirely clear, since the number of members of the Treaty on Collective

Security has not yet been determined. Thus far, there are seven of them. It seems that Georgia and Azerbaijan are experiencing doubts. But that is what the talks are for, to dispel all the doubts. As for the financial aspect, Russia is willing to take on 50 percent of all expenditure on maintaining the CIS Military Cooperation Coordination Staff. Incidentally, the location of the CIS Military Cooperation Coordination Staff will remain as before—that is, on Moscow's Leningradskiy Prospekt.

On Thursday afternoon the plan was for Colonel General Boris Pyankov, commander of the collective peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan, to address a joint session of defense and foreign ministers. In a talk with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, Boris Pyankov said that he will raise, first and foremost, the question of the full manning of the peacekeeping forces—Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have yet to send their subunits. The Uzbek contingent must be brought up to strength. There are major problems with finance. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are not making available the funds stipulated in the agreements. Boris Pyankov intends to seek the status of UN peacekeeping forces for his grouping.

After the official program of talks there was a confidental meeting between Pavel Grachev and Vitaliy Radetskyy. In a brief interview for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, General Radetskyy stated that his conversation with Pavel Grachev confirmed the two ministers' unity of views on many questions. In particular, they examined the prospects for military-technical cooperation and cadre training and the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. The two ministers agreed that in the case of the Black Sea Fleet, the most important thing is, after all, the people and their fate. And the decision that is made should take the "human factor" into account.

On the second day of work, the Russian defense minister signed documents on bilateral relations in the military sphere with the defense ministers of Belarus, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, and also held talks with the leaders of the military departments of virtually all the countries party to the Treaty on Collective Security.

Future Ukrainian Participation Noted

LD2412110993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1002 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 23 December—According to reports from competent sources, Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy stated at the sitting of the CIS member countries' Council of Defense Ministers during his stay in Ashgabat that certain units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine would join the CIS joint armed forces. The Defense Ministry's press service did not deny this report and excused itself by the total lack of information in connection with this. It is only known to the press service that the defense ministers at the sitting discussed the transformation of the former CIS joint command into a headquarters to coordinate military cooperation between CIS countries. It was announced by Ukraine's Defense Ministry that at present the issue was being considered that Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy being included in the CIS member countries' Council of Defense Ministers. It is also planned that the issue of the possibility of incorporating several representatives of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry in the coordination headquarters will be looked at.

Grachev Comments on Cooperation

LD2412180593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS news analyst Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on Friday [24 December] spoke highly about the results of the CIS defense ministers' meeting in Ashgabat.

In a talk to journalists upon arriving in Moscow, Grachev emphasised that his counterparts from CIS countries, including Ukraine, declared for close cooperation with Russia in the field of military technology.

"General of the Army Vitaliy Radetskiy and I discussed the problems of the Black Sea Fleet and nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. Immediately after the New Year's holiday, a group of experts will leave for Kiev for talks on the Black Sea Fleet. As far as nuclear weapons are concerned, a stage-by-stage removal of their main components will be started in the incoming year. The components are then to be sent to Russia for further dismantling," Grachev said.

Speaking about bilateral relations with Turkmenistan, Grachev said "there are no problems at all in this respect". He believes that the main thing is that the 2,000-strong corps of Russian officers, who are still on the territory of the republic, will help it raise a new Turkmen Army which will be up to contemporary standards. The Turkmen side undertakes to fully finance their service.

The Russian defense minister described as canards the newspaper reports that the Russian Army is in for reorganisation at an early date and that a majority of servicemen voted for Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

"Some gentlemen have launched a new campaign aimed at breaking up the army. All their attempts are in vain. The army is strong as never before and no one will be able to break it up," Grachev said in conclusion.

Head of Security Council Named

LD2412201293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] According to the messages received from Ashgabat, Russian diplomat Gennadiy Shabannikov has been appointed General Secretary of the CIS Collective Security Council.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev explained to Interfax that the issue on the implementation of the collective security treaty which was being considered by the heads of CIS states in the Turkmenian capital was a very difficult one and the parties even thought of postponing its solution until the next summit scheduled for next March in Moscow.

According to Grachev, Russia and Azerbaijan have introduced several radically controversial amendments. However, "all presidents have literally forced their defense and foreign ministers to revise the issue in the course of the meeting. They have done this. Consequently, "we have reached consensus," reported Grachev. In his words, the essence of the debates with Azerbaijan concerned its concept on collective security which primarily implies security "inside the CIS" but not outside security as Russia insisted.

The Collective Security Treaty was finally signed in that form as it was prepared on May 15, 1992, the minister said.

Grachev said that the Ashgabat meeting stressed the necessity to "more precisely" fulfill the agreements on introduction of CIS peace-making forces into Tajikistan. The Ashgabat summit has also determined the structure and precise number of forces to be sent to Tajikistan.

"The time when the issue was solved according to the principle "I want or I do not want" has ended. "The decision has been adopted and everybody must fulfil it," said Grachev.

Radetskyy, Kravchuk on Collective Security

LD2512204793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2100 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Ashgabat [dateline as received]— As a UNIAN correspondent verified, the statement by Minister of Defense Vitaliy Radetskyy in which he is alleged to have indirectly expressed Ukraine's intention to join the CIS collective security, said, word for word, as follows: "We take an interested attitude to the changes in the top military structures of the CIS and are looking into the problems which would determine the possibility of the Ukrainian Minister of Defence joining the Commonwealth Council of Defense Ministers as well as the issues related to our permanent representation at or membership in the Headquarters for the Coordination of Military Cooperation. The final decision, undoubtedly, would be made by the president of Ukraine with the consent of the Supreme Council of Ukraine." Commenting on this proposal by Vitaliy Radetskyy, President Leonid Kravchuk told a news conference: "I have no objections to Vitaliy Radetskyy being in touch with the developments in the military sphere of the Commonwealth countries. We cooperate with the CIS countries in the military-technical sphere, we are simply not a member of the Council for Collective Security which incorporates only six states."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 24 Dec

LD2412075793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0708 GMT 24 Dec 93

["Press Review"]

[Text] Moscow December 24 (ITAR-TASS)—The Moscow press concentrates on the ongoing summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Ashgabat.

Under the headline "Reasonable and Humane", the ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA newspaper describes an inter-state agreement on dual citizenship which was signed by Russian and Turkmen Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Saparmurad Niyazov in the Turkmen capital on Thursday [23 December].

The newspaper stresses that the document "is vital for millions of citizens and can serve as a good example for countries which are interested in establishing truly good-neighbourly relations".

Writing about the conclusion of the above agreement, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper notes that Yeltsin became the first Russian who was granted Turkmen citizenship.

The newspaper states that "the precedent has been established. Similar agreements will be possibly signed by other states".

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper comments on the results of a meeting in Ashgabat between Russian and Ukrainian Defence Ministers Pavel Grachev and Vitaliy Radetskyy in an article entitled "Ashgabat: the System of Collective Security Assumes New Outlines".

"The two ministers," the newspaper writes, "concurred in the opinion that people and their destinies are the top priority in settling the question of the Black Sea Fleet. A decision should be found, taking into account "the human factor".

The newspaper carries a short interview with Radetskyy who confirmed identity of the two ministers' views on many issues, including prospects for military and technical cooperation.

Commenting on a statement by Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin that the leaders of the former Soviet republics understood the need for strengthening economic relations between these republics, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper warns that it is too early "to feel optimistic" on this occasion.

The newspaper claims that summit participants in Ashgabat do not conduct a substantive discussion of issues on the establishment of a united custims union, without which a common economic zone can exist only in the minds of high-ranking officials.

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and TRUD newspapers also feature reports on the meeting between the Russian president and his Turkmen counterpart.

The PRAVDA newspaper notes in its commentary that the observance of human rights inside the commonwealth will possibly be the most burning issue at the Ashgabat summit.

Amplifying on its idea, the newspaper writes that the question may be raised on "arbitrary restrictions on the freedom of movement and residence by authorities in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Belgorod and Kiev".

ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carry a detailed summary of Yeltsin's statement at a news conference in the Kremlin. The first newspaper singles out the president's words that "all Russia wants stability".

The other newspaper believes that "the lack of confrontational aspirations" in the present position of the Russian president "gives hope to all of us for civilised living in the framework of civil peace".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA devotes a whole page to leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The newspaper writes the following in an article entitled "A Man Who Stunned Everybody": "The Phenomen of Zhirinovskiy is explained by his boldness to say during the election campaign what democrats did not dare to mention".

He spoke of the need for ending the artificial division of the country according to ethnic and territorial outlines, which, according to the newspaper, is "the prime root for all the problems of present-day Russia", the newspaper notes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA draws a parallel between the present situation in Russia and that in Germany of 1932. The newspaper quotes a warning from the then intelligence service of the Soviet Red Army that the Nazis might grab power in Germany.

Press Review for 25 Dec

LD2512074293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0658 GMT 25 Dec 93

["Press Review;" quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS - Russian Newspapers continue to analyse the results of the CIS summit in Ashgabat and make forecasts for the development of the situation in Russia after elections to Russia's new parliament.

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA daily writes that one of the central events of the Ashgabat summit was a meeting between the Kazakh and Ukrainian presidents and the fact that their positions on some issues became closer which "might strongly influence the CIS future." The newspaper drew attention to the continuing "Azeri-Armenian mutual repulsion" which adds to problems faced by the CIS in the solution of the Karabakh conflict. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev met in Ashgabat with the chairman of the Georgian Parliament Eduard Shevardnadze. During the talks the sides reached an agreement "to coordinate their positions in future during meetings of CIS leaders." It is Shevardnadze's debut in the CIS and evidently, "if he succeeded in bringing Nazarbayev's and Kravchuk's positions closer together and if the presidents of Kazakhstan and Ukraine managed to come to terms on their own, Russian President Boris Yeltsin who has a rotating chairmanship in the CIS for the next six months would have to face new and rather unexpected distribution of forces in the Commonwealth," the newspaper said.

As for the Azeri-Armenian conflict, "Armenia is not likely to run the risk of finding itself in political isolation among CIS countries and its activities are not expected to be strongly denounced," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA says. According to the newspaper, much will depend on the fact whether Aliyev manages to persuade Russia to put pressure on Armenia, while "Russia might agree to do so only if Baku supports the idea of deploying Russian troops in the zone of the conflict."

Analysing the results of the summit, the KRASNAYA ZVESDA daily puts the emphasis on Turkmenistan's admission to the economic union as a full-fledged member. The newspaper highlights the creation of a chairmanship body and the election of Boris Yeltsin to the post of the CIS chairman.

The PRAVDA daily approached the establishment of the economic union from a different position. The newspaper said that "after the two years of its existence the Commonwealth has emerged as a new economic reality in the scope of the former Soviet Union (except the Baltic states). However, the CIS has a thorny way to go yet for the restoration of its economic ties."

Besides, any union including an economic union of the CIS, cannot be created at the expense of Russia's interests and on its financial basis," the newspaper said. To confirm this idea, the newspaper writes that in 1993 alone, Russia gave 17 billion dollars in subsidies to the CIS at the expense of low prices for fuel.

"Democracy in Russia has stumbled, but it did not fall," reads a headline of an article published by the "ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" newspaper on its front page which is devoted to the results of the elections to the new parliament.

"The victory of the Liberal-Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, a large number of deputies' mandates won by Communists led by Gennadiy Zyuganov and the Agrarian Party which is close to Communists, together with the "Women of Russia" bloc and the Democratic Party led by Travkin-Govorukhin - such results of the vote reflecting the people's free will leave no illusions about the lessening of the political tension in Russia," the newspaper says.

At the same time, the newspaper pointed out that it is too early yet to speak about the final distribution of forces in parliament. "There are grounds to believe that the faction of democratic forces will be numerous enough and some reports even say that the "Russia's Choice" bloc will have 10 seats more than the Liberal Democratic Party which did not receive a single seat in the Federation Council," the newspaper said. However, this does not give ground to hope that the parliament will be able to go ahead with such a membership".

"Although certain mechanisms, capable of blocking emergency situations, are envisaged by the new constitution which was adopted in the referendum... This mechanism which has not been practiced yet, under the growing economic and political polarization of the population can hardly guarantee the country against future turmoils," the newspaper said.

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA daily writes that "during recent elections the bloc of democrats was split into a big number of factions which was done "for strategic aims, for easy collection of votes."

The ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper carried an interview with Russian First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar who said that recently, the government had managed to abate the wave of inflation. "We may hope that in the near future it will be reduced by 10-12 per cent, " Gaydar said.

Kozyrev on Upcoming Yeltsin-Clinton Summit

LD2512152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1312 GMT 25 Dec 93

[ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 25 December—The forthcoming meeting between the presidents of Russia and the United States, scheduled for January next year in Moscow, "will be devoted not so much to removing the obstructions that existed between the two great powers in the past but more to lending real substance to bilateral partnership on an absolutely equal basis." Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev expressed this opinion on the summit while talking to Russian journalists at the Russian Foreign Ministry today.

It doesn't at all mean that "there is nothing we can argue about with each other," the minister said, but still the meeting that opens the New Year in Moscow will become a meeting of the leaders "who are working on a solid basis of partnership and who, most likely, will draw up an agenda for their interaction for the end of the '90s and the beginning of the next century."

The Russian minister thinks that "in principle, Russian-American relations based on a solid foundation of national interests and the policy of interaction between the two countries are not going to change." Russia's people, Kozyrev said, are experiencing "great stresses" and we need to and will develop cooperation with the United States and other Western partners on an equal basis.

Further Kozyrev Comments

LD2612123893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 26 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov will be leaving for Washington in the next few days to reach final agreement on the program for the Russian-American meeting. Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry, gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Correspondent D.Pugacheva] Andrey Kozyrev thinks that a feature of the coming meeting between Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton will be not the raking over of the old obstructions in relations between the two powers but rather the construction of a new edifice of partnership on an equal footing.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] It will indeed be a summit meeting between the leaders of two states, who are working on a firm basis of partnership and who certainly will be drawing up the agenda for the future up to the end of the century and even up to the end of the millennium. The basis will not change. Neither shall we be giving in to pressure from certain irresponsible circles that are attempting to return Russia to isolation, nor will the United States give in to the so-called Zhirinovskiy factor. I think the United States is sufficiently well aware that our country has a new constitution, and President Clinton's recent statement about his firm intention to cooperate precisely with President Yeltsin, who is backed by the people's mandate and the Constitution, encourages one that the talks in Moscow will not be panic-stricken or couched in some kind of cautious terms but will indeed be a specific discussion on a specific agenda of cooperation. [end recording]

Talks Previewed

LD2712142093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Presidents of Russia and the United States, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, are due to meet in Moscow in mid-January to discuss how to widen the process of partnership they set into motion in Vancouver, Canada, last April, Yeltsin's press office said on Monday.

The two leaders will sum up what has been done to get rid of the legacy of the cold war period in bilateral relations and discuss the questions of cooperation in the light of Russia's policy of reforms.

International security, including cooperation in nuclear arms control and global nuclear nonproliferation, will likewise dominate the agenda. Key international issues such as the role played by international peacekeepers in resolving regional conflicts are also to come under discussion.

Uranium Agreement With U.S. Confronted With Problems

MK2512133093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed INTERFAX report: "The Anti-Dumping Agreement on Uranium May Be Revised"]

[Text] A highly placed representative of the Russian Federation Atomic Energy Ministry said that before 15 January Russia and the United States may approve an amendment on the anti-dumping uranium agreement whereby Russia will receive a quota of 3,000 tonnes to sell natural uranium on the U.S. market in 1994. However, the amendment will become effective only after the U.S. producers who have initiated an anti-dumping investigation have expressed their consent—even though a corresponding document has been initialed within the framework of the bilateral intergovernmental commission. According to the ministry official, the compensation contract, signed in 1993, for the sale to the United States of 4.1 million pounds of natural uranium worth $115 million will be only partially implemented—by $65 million—owing to financial problems of the U.S. side.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes U.S. Russian Friendship Law

LD2312154793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1412 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry welcomed on Thursday the entry into force of a "law on friendship with Russia" submitted to the U.S. Congress on the initiative of President Bill Clinton.

This move is designed "to draw the line under the period of discrimination for ideological reasons", Foreign Ministry Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said. "Now it is becoming possible to settle the outstanding problems in the spirit of fair competition and for mutual benefit", he added.

Karasin stressed that "the law lifts most legislative bans and restrictions on trade and economic cooperation between our countries inherited by the United States from the Cold-War period".

Production Projects Using Canadian Credit Specified

PM2412110593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

["Own information" report: "Canadian Loan"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Government has confirmed the list of technological equipment and materials to be bought with an investment loan provided by the Canadian Government.

It includes sets of equipment for the production of fiber-optic articles and door units in Safonovo, Smolensk Oblast, equipment for the processing of casing-head gas during oil extraction in Perm Oblast, equipment to modernize cast-iron production at the Sverdlov Machine Tool Building Production Association in St. Petersburg, and so forth. The total value is U.S. $70 million.

Greater Economic Cooperation With Cuba Envisaged

LD2312223593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets on Thursday met Cuban Deputy Prime Minister Lionel Soto.

"You are our brothers, and we must cooperate," Soskovets said during his talks with Soto, who heads a Cuban government delegation which has come to Russia for a working visit.

The delegation asked Russia for technical assistance in repairing and modernizing its thermal power stations fitted up with Soviet- made equipment. For several reasons, including the use of crude oil instead of residual fuel oil, the stations are currently used to 30- 40 percent of their capacity. Earlier on, Russia gave Cuba a financial loan for renovating the stations.

Soskovets promised that a team of experts would be sent to Cuba.

The Cuban delegation also offered cooperation in developing Russia's oilfields.

There already are plans for setting up Russian-Cuban joint ventures for the extraction and refinement of oil and the production of chemical fertilizers. Thus, in January or February 1994 the two countries are due to establish a joint association, to be called Ros-Cuba, for refining oil, building a 58-km pipeline and operating an oil terminal in Cuba.

The Cuban delegation also expressed interest in an urgent increase in Russia's oil exports to Cuba partly in exchange for Cuban sugar.

On Friday, the delegation is due to sign with its Russian hosts a package of agreements, including a trade protocol for 1994.

Agreement Signed

LD2412144293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1426 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—An agreement between the Governments of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Cuba on an international Russo-Cuban trade-and-economic association and a memorandum on the results of talks between the two governments were signed here on Friday by Russia's First Vice-Premiers Oleg Soskovets and Vladimir Shumeyko, and by Lionel Soto, deputy chairman of Cuba's Council of Ministers.

Shumeyko highly appreciated the results of the talks and the importance of the documents signed. "We have found a golden mean which will enable us to develop bilateral cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis," he pointed out.

Shumeyko Comments

LD2412204993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] "Despite political differences, we have much in common with Cuba, and we have found the golden middle which enables us to develop the relations with this country on a mutually beneficial basis," Russian First Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said after signing a Russo-Cuban memorandum on the results of interstate negotiations.

Russian First Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets and his Cuban counterpart, Lionel Soto, signed an agreement to set up a Russo- Cuban trade and economic association on the same day.

Shumeyko said this agreement lowered the level of economic and trade relations to that between manufacturers." About 30 major Russian financial, industrial and banking groups such as Rosneft, Tatneft, Urals works, nickel-producing plants are ready to be the founders of the association to be called "Roscuba."

"Our manufacturers understand that the key on Cuba's state emblem is the key to the whole of Latin America, and that they may explore a new market, extremely profitable for Russia," Shumeyko is convinced.

According to the agreements signed, Russia will purchase about one and a half million tons of Cuban raw sugar in 1994. Russia's annual consumption of sugar is about 7 million tons, while its annual output reaches only 2-2.5 million tons. In exchange for sugar, Russia will supply Cuba with 4 million tons of oil.

He did not rule out that "the agreements signed affected the interests of third world countries" which purchased Cuban raw sugar to re-sell it later to Russia "for another price" and those who would like to impede the rapprochement of Russia and Cuba on political grounds.

Germany Provides Chemical Weapons Monitoring Equipment

LD2312224793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1517 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Korinenko]

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec—A mobile laboratory, necessary for carrying out effective environmental monitoring measures during the destruction of chemical weapons, was today handed over to representatives of Russia's Defense Ministry. It will be deployed in Saratov Oblast as early as the beginning of January 1994.

The total cost of the equipment being handed over is reckoned to be 130 million marks. With its assistence, it is possible to detect even an insignificant quantity of chemical substances by means of conducting physical and chemical analyses. In other words, the laboratory raises the safety level significantly in the course of destroying poisonous chemical substances. Furthermore, the German side is providing courses to train Russian specialists in the latest methods of monitoring the environment in sites where chemical weapons are being destroyed.

Polish Foreign Minister Interviewed on Russian Ties

PM2412134393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by Konstantin Eggert in Warsaw; date not given: "Poland Cannot Feel Secure Without Friendly Relations With Russia"]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—[Eggert] Mr. Minister, are the traditional prejudices and historical affronts felt among Poles affecting the development of Russo-Polish relations?

[Olechowski] The Poles constitute a relatively young nation and, on the whole, do not bear grudges. Consequently, we have a very positive attitude to relations with Russia.

But it must not be forgotten that any event that recalls the past or any signal that indicates neo-imperial tendencies in the East is taken badly. According to opinion polls, on average 20 percent of Poles are concerned about the country's security. In periods of acute crisis, such as during the October events in Moscow, this figure rises to 40 percent. You will agree that even this is not that much.

[Eggert] Nonetheless, the problem of the psychological climate underlying bilateral relations does exist....

[Olechowski] You see, for cultural and historical reasons Poles traditionally look to the West. But this in no way means that they want to be isolated from the East. Moreover, an era of real prosperity and security for Poland will never dawn without truly friendly relations with Russia. But genuine friendship between two countries and peoples can only be based on respect for that which divides them.

Poland is banking on integration into European structures. But even in a united Europe there will still be a north and a south, an east and a west. We want to be on the western side, and we hope that our neighbors will understand and recognize this aspiration.

[Eggert] So are your fears to do with a revival of imperial thinking in Russia?

[Olechowski] For a time it is possible to use the illusions of imperial might to make up for people's lack of material prosperity. But maintaining an empire is a ruinous pleasure. I am sure that in the near future your people will be able to see that this kind of spending is a waste of money. But in the immediate term my compatriots are fearful of a possible return to the practice of imperialism in Russia.

[Eggert] People in Russia are concerned that Poland's desire to join NATO will lead to Russia's being cut off and isolated from Europe.

[Olechowski] I do not think that this is the view of ordinary citizens. Most probably, certain politicians would like to impose this view on Russians. Ultimately, NATO was set up to defend a certain value system—democracy. It is incomprehensible why Russia, in declaring its adherence to the democratic path of development, should see the NATO alliance as an enemy.

Does anybody really think that Poland is capable of isolating Russia?! Just look at the map—as sportsmen would say, we are in different weight categories.

[Eggert] What is the attitude in Poland to the Russo-Ukrainian dispute on nuclear weapons? There is a view that Warsaw is inclined to sympathize with Kiev on this issue.

[Olechowski] I have repeatedly stated that Poland counts on having nonnuclear states as its immediate neighbors. On that basis, we in no way want to turn Ukraine into a nuclear power. At the same time, Poles would not wish to see a threat emerge to Ukraine's independence.

[Eggert] One of the main problems hampering the development of Russo-Polish economic ties is the mutual debts inherited from the CEMA era. Experts in Moscow privately advocate that the debts be written off on both sides—a kind of "zero option." What do you think about that?

[Olechowski] I support the "zero option"—all the more so as the figures on both sides approximately coincide. I believe that Moscow too agrees with this approach in principle. We still have to coordinate a few details. I think that this will happen very soon.

Foreign Ministry Warns on Latvian Nationalism

LD2312141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1246 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 December—"While it is not too late, one has to do one's best to prevent the blossom of aggressive nationalism from flourishing in the Baltics - a danger for Europe about which Russia has frequently warned". This is a quote from a statement made by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was read out by Grigoriy Krasikov, head of the information and press department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing held today. The statement was made in connection with a draft law on elections to the self-government bodies adopted by the Latvian parliament.

The statement notes that "in accordance with the draft law non- Latvian citizens are deprived not only of their right not to vote but also of their right to vote; language barriers are being erected for non-indigenous Latvian citizens (one can only be nominated as a candidate having passed an exam in Latvian language), barriers (based on ethnic origin) are being erected when candidates are nominated in Riga and other large cities with a high percentage of non-indigenous population."

By doing this, the statement of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stresses, "Latvian parliamentarians continue to ignore recommendations made by the Council of Europe and CSCE specialists", including those made by Max van der Stoel, High Commissioner for ethnic minorities' issues, who think that "the debarring of non-citizens who make up a considerable part of the population from participating in local self-government bodies" is unacceptable.

"Since Russia's stance has not been met with understanding at the bilateral talks with Latvian partners, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is yet again drawing the attention of the world community and human rights organizations to the deepening of the discrimination policy in Latvia and the forcing of the non- indigenous population, first and foremost Russian speakers, out of the country,"—the statement of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs says.

Foreign Ministry Clarifies Statement

LD2312172293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] A Russian foreign ministry official has declared that the remarks made by a senior Russian diplomat in an interview with Interfax are unrelated to current speculations about "possible changes" in Russia's foreign policy.

Briefing journalists in Moscow on Wednesday, the Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Grigory Karasin recalled the interview in which the Second European Department's Chief Aleksandr Udaltsov "looked at how negotiations on troop withdrawal with Latvia and Estonia are really proceeding."

Udaltsov is reported to have stressed in the interview that Russia would pursue "a more realistic line" in its relations with the Baltic countries. If the Baltic states did not meet Russia's interests halfway, Russia would have to act accordingly. He also ruled out the possibility of a future suspension in the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic region.

Karasin told journalists that Russian diplomats would further uphold their country's interests consistently and would press for early military accords with Latvia and Estonia at negotiations with these republics.

He also recalled that Russia had offered new shorter terms to complete troop withdrawal from these countries because of the partners' readiness to take Russia's interests into account on a number of concrete issues.

The Russian Federation has pledged to complete its troop (about 13,000 men) pullout from Latvia by August 31, 1994, and abandon its strategic facilities—a spacecraft tracking station in Ventspils and a naval base at Liepaja, earlier planned to be kept for 5-6 years—if Latvia allows the further operating for 6 years of an anti-ballistic missile radar station at Skrunda and will help to solve the problems facing the withdrawn Russian servicemen.

Russia has pulled its troops out of Lithuania. About 2,500 Russian soldiers remain in Estonia. They are to be withdrawn by August 31, 1994.

Commentary Criticizes Meri's Remarks on Minorities

PM2212153593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by British journalist Lord Bethell on interview with Estonian President Lennart Meri in Tallinn; date not given; followed by Leonid Mlechin commentary: "Estonian President Lennart Meri: 'I Regret Our Treating the Russians So Well'"]

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri was deported to Siberia as a 12-year-old boy. On returning to Estonia after the war he became a popular writer and movie director. This is what he told me in the presidential palace in Tallinn:

If you want to understand the situation concerning Russians' rights in Estonia you have to know our history. A secret edict passed in Moscow in 1944 meant that the whole of this region was to be settled by Russians.

We have been expoited for 50 years in the interests of Russia.

Over 10,000 of the most highly educated Estonians were deported to Siberia on 14 June 1941. Around 60,000 people were killed or arrested during the war. Another 50,000 people, mainly farmers, were arrested in March 1949. We waged a guerrilla war in our forests against the army of occupation. But Estonia is not Afghanistan. Even its highest "peak" is only 380 meters, and the whole population prior to deportation did not exceed 1 million. We were defeated.

Soviet dominion in Estonia was nothing like British rule in India in the good old days anthemed by Kipling. The Russians presented themselves as a "nation of gentlemen" but behaved like the SS rather than ordinary Wehrmacht soldiers. They did not deem it necessary to converse with us.

That was a mistake, even from the standpoint of their own interests. As none of them spoke Estonian, we could keep it as our secret language, the language of our quiet resistance. In the sixties we published the works of Russian liberals who would never have been able to break through the censorship barrier. In 1962 we received the galley-proofs of Solzhenitsyn's story *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* long before it was published. As soon as it was published in Moscow, we published the work here in Estonia in book form. In the seventies we circulated dissident literature here, and Moscow knew nothing about it!

The Russian leaders now accuse us of violating the human rights of members of the Russian-speaking community. But sometimes I even regret our treating them so well. We would prefer to return to the Estonia that existed 52 years ago. We would like the Russians to feel the impulse to return whence they came. And I can assure you that we will not be letting former KGB and Soviet military intelligence personnel remain here. We estimate that they number around 1,500, and they are engaged in racketeering or the sale of stolen army gear and equipment. They are now making money in Estonia, but they have no future here.

We will be able to absorb Russians, but we will do so in such a way that our state does not lose its viability. There is a limit to the number of Russians which our state, numbering 900,000 Estonians, can absorb, especially when you bear in mind that many of them are here because of the higher living standards and not at all because they believe in our country and our democratic ideals. [Meri interview ends, Mlechin comemntary begins]

Tallinn's Foolish Policy Could Transform Estonia into the Provinces of Estland and Livland

If Estonian President Meri continues regretting that Estonians treat Russians too well and his words remain Tallinn's official policy toward Russians, the republic could actually become the Provinces of Estand and Livland [subdivisions under the tsars] again.

Have the Russian election results really taught the Baltic republic leaders nothing? It is they by their provincial, foolish policy, studied arrogance, and desire to assert themselves and offend the "nonindigenous inhabitants" who have bolstered the Russian nationalists' position. The attempts to eject the Russians from the Baltic and the wounding of their national feelings inevitably increase the standing of those forces in Russia which will never recognize Estonia's independence. Their return to power would be a catastrophe for the Balts too.

Moreover, the Baltic leaders have no friends or supporters on the territory of Russia. The Russian democrats, who supported the Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians in the late eighties and who made the creation of independent Baltic republics possible, have turned away from those whose cause they regarded as just.

The new Baltic leaders have been unwilling to put into practice the principles whose observance they have demanded of others. The problem of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic cannot be categorized as simple. But trying to solve it by the present methods, by endeavoring to eject the Russians and Slavs (that is to say, one-third of the republic's population, 65 percent of whom were born in Estonia), and blaming them for what happened 50 years ago means turning Russia into their enemy.

President Meri was surprisingly frank during his conversation with the English lord. Was he perhaps being somewhat impulsive?

It is difficult to accuse Estonians of being impulsive, and President Meri is still regarded as a cool, level-headed politician. In speaking to a correspondent from IZVESTIYA or indeed any other Russian newspaper President Meri might have been more guarded. But politicians on the territory of the former USSR have retained the habit of saying one thing to their own journalists and something else to Western journalists.

It would seem that President Meri harbored no doubts about the utter sympathy with the freedom-loving Estonian people felt by the English lord visiting Tallinn. And he slipped up. Just as Dmitriy Vasilyev, the head of Pamyat, who was sure that the fair-haired, blue-eyed Englishman was bound to share his dislike of Jews, slipped up in Moscow...

Nicholas Bethell, well-known defender of human rights, was an unconditional champion of the Baltic republics' independence when the interests of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians had to be fought for, but Lord Bethell is an equally unconditional advocate of the observance of national minorities' rights. And the moment Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania gained independence, Russians became national minorities on their territory.

Deputy Minister Denies Territorial Claim on Ukraine

LD2412194293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1833 GMT 24 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitry Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaly Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] Russia has no territorial claims to Ukraine; it has no intention of laying foundations for the possibility of making them in the future. This is how Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov commented in an interview with Interfax on statements by Dmitry Pavlychko, the chairman of Ukraine's parliamentary commission for foreign affairs.

The Ukrainian MP had proclaimed Kiev's desire to add a provision concerning the inviolability of borders to the Russian-Ukrainian intergovernmental agreement which is being drafted now. According to Pavlychko, Russia wants to "confine itself to oblique phrases, which testifies to its striving to revert to the territorial dispute later."

In discussions on the above-mentioned treaty, Lavrov said, Russia called for using the wording employed in the documents on forming the CIS. The essence of that wording is that the Commonwealth countries recognize each other's territorial integrity within the framework of borders existing within the CIS.

"We see no fundamental difference between the wording of the Belaya Vezha documents signed by the presidents of our countries and the one suggested by Ukraine. As for the possible territorial claims to Ukraine, President Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Foreign Ministry demonstrated more than once their objection to them, when they refused to endorse the resolutions concerning the Crimea adopted by the former Supreme Soviet," Lavrov said.

According to him, "such suppositions on the part of Ukrainian politicians only serve to create additional difficulties for the negotiating process, not contribute to it."

Georgian Envoy: Moscow Holds Key To End Abkhaz Conflict

LD2312223693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] The achievement of a best possible solution to the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia largely depends on Russia's rather than U.N. effort, Georgian special envoy for Abkhazia Aleksandr Kavsadze said in Moscow on Thursday. If Russia fails to bring an end to that confrontation, it will eventually spread on to its own territory, and first of all, to the Northern Caucasus, he said.

Kavsadze said his country did not question the autonomous status of Abkhazia but was seeking a compromise formula to keep it as part of Georgia.

In his words, Abkhazia refused to discuss its status under an excuse of wanting to hold a referendum on the issue. "Abkhazia is biding time to try to get its independence de facto", the Georgian official said.

He warned against delaying a peaceful solution to the conflict which may spill over into a large scale war in and beyond the region. At the same time, Kavsadze agreed that a military solution to the problem was impossible.

The Georgian official said his country wanted to raise the question of calling an international tribunal to investigate into war crimes committed in Abkhazia. He put the toll of Georgian casualties at more than 4,000 dead, 8,000 wounded and over 7,000 unaccounted for. As many as 32 villages were destroyed and more than 240,000 people have become refugees, Kavsadze said.

For his part, Russian envoy Gennadiy Fedosov said international experts were considering four possible options for Abkhazia - autonomy, part of the Georgian federation or confederation and full independence. However, autonomy or full independence were found to be least acceptable, Fedosov said. But the option of an asymmetric federation in which one group of members have greater rights than others is seen as more practical, he said. At the same time, he said Russia continued to recognize Georgia's territorial integrity.

More 'Mercenaries' Recruited for Azerbaijan

LD2312185693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Report by correspondent O. Alalykin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] "Vesti" has already reported the departure for Baku of 92 Russian mercenaries—they flew out of Ivanovo airport on Monday [20 December] on a Azerbaijani air company special flight.

The recruiting took place in secret and the authorities found out about them by sheer luck. The lads from Central Russia were promised 500,000 rubles per month and the rank of instructor. Contracts, however, were not concluded.

The speed with which the recruiting officers from the southern republic were able to find nearly 100 soldiers of fortune is astonishing. Colonel (Guseynov), who took part in the recruiting, cited some secret agreement in this respect between the Defense Ministries of Azerbaijan and Russia. Oblast Military Commissar (Aleksandr Konoplev) said that he did not know about any agreement and that the officers in his command had not assisted their Azerbaijani colleagues in the recruitment of the Russians.

Attempts by the local authorities to delay the plane's departure foundered on the absence of a legal basis for this. In the meantime, the departure of another 70 Russian lads is planned in a few days' time.

Group Wants Russians' Rights Defended in Former Republics

LD2412000593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] The Congress of Russian Communities [CRC] has demanded the government take measures to defend the rights of the country's compatriots residing in other republics of the former Soviet Union. It issued a statement on Thursday [23 December] protesting against an anti-Russian campaign unleashed by the Kazakh authorities.

The move follows the Kazakh justice minister's order to outlaw and withdraw registration of all Russian-speaking communities and criminal charges brought against the leader of one such community.

The CRC has described this as a despicable act and gross violation of "the rights of our compatriots residing in other republics of the former Soviet Union."

The statement says the Russian community of Kazakhstan which wants to retain its national identity and culture has given no cause for crackdowns at a time when historic Russian cities are being renamed and parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church harassed.

That similar incidents have become almost routine in other republics including Moldova, Estonia, Latvia and Ukraine is a cause for concern, says the statement.

The CRC has called on the foreign ministry to intervene in an effort to protect the interests of Russia and Russians living abroad. Nothing short of the government's firm position can help bring to their senses the rabid ultra-nationalists seeing the chance of harassing without impunity the people who identify themselves as Russian by birth and culture.

The CRC says it will join a demonstration arranged by other patriotic groups to be held outside the foreign ministry's building in central Moscow on January 8.

Foreign Ministry's Adamishin Views CIS Ties

PM2312121593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy foreign minister, by Pavel Shinkarenko; place and date not given: "Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister: 'The CIS Is a Serious, Long-Term Thing...'"]

[Text] Anatoliy Adamishin is what you would call a career diplomat. He first put in an appearance at the Foreign Ministry in 1957 after graduating from Moscow State University and by the age of 59 had climbed all rungs on the ladder—from consultant in the European Department to first deputy minister. In 1986-1990 he was deputy head of the union Foreign Ministry and then ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Italy, where back in his youth he had begun his diplomatic career as embassy trainee. In October 1992 he was offered his present post and what one would have thought were a host of insoluble problems into the bargain connected with shaping Russian policy toward the Commonwealth of Independent States.

[Shinkarenko] Anatoliy Leonidovich, I am here not only because of the latest "jubilee"—the approaching anniversary of the Almaty Declaration, which laid the foundation of the CIS—but also because of our readers' letters, opinions, and recriminations directed at the Foreign Ministry in connection with Russian policy in nearby foreign countries. Hence I have a few questions that may be somewhat unpleasant for you as one of the leaders of Russian diplomacy....

[Adamishin] There are no unpleasant questions, just unpleasant answers.

[Shinkarenko] That being the case, here is the first one. People write: Yeltsin and Kravchuk broke up the Union and now we are all suffering. Why was this?

[Adamishin] Let me be utterly frank: I will not talk about why the Union was broken up. It is so to speak a fait accompli. You cannot rewrite history. What we have in its place is what is important—we have 15 independent states on the territory of the former USSR. And 12 of them are united in the Commonwealth. Thus, with the exception of the Baltics, these republics are in one way or another interconnected. Another plus is that the CIS is growing, not diminishing. Azerbaijan and Georgia were not members, but now they have joined the CIS. Moldova, although it has not gone through the legal procedures of formalizing its membership, also acts as a full-fledged participant in all Commonwealth functions.

But this is a question of "arithmetic." Things are more complex regarding the "algebra," that is, the quality of the relations. One school of thought considered it a form of civilized divorce for the former Soviet republics, another said that it is a "serious, long-term thing." This dispute does not seem to be over today. I think this for instance when I hear eminent Ukrainian officials saying that the CIS is a stillborn child. Although everything was ultimately done for the sake of Ukraine, because we wanted to keep it in the unified political and economic area formed by the former USSR. But there are far more arguments in favor of the other school, in favor of the idea that the CIS is a serious, long-term phenomenon.

The reality is that the Commonwealth is finding its feet as a serious regional organization. Its charter has been adopted and executive organs have been set up, including the Coordinating-Consultative Committee, which resolves strategic problems of cooperation at vice premier level. The Treaty on Economic Union has been signed and the phases involved in its creation worked out. Interstate sectoral associations are hard at work. Nonetheless I repeat that we cannot say that this process is irreversible.

[Shinkarenko] Where do you see danger?

[Adamishin] There are plenty of difficulties. The first one being the aggressive nationalism in the former Soviet republics, which often degenerates into the absurd. The peoples' real interests are being sacrificed to nationalist slogans—"independence [Russified spelling of Ukrainian word used]," liberation from "imperial" dependence, etc. I am not saying that this trend prevails. But it does exist and it is a great obstacle in the way of developing partnership relations. Many sensible decisions have not been adopted solely because they were seen as a return "to Moscow's influence." Politicians, who are not themselves contaminated by this virus, have been forced to waive their principles under pressure from the national patriots.

The second problem lies within us Russians ourselves. Many serious academics, not to mention political speculators, claim that Russia can do without the CIS. There are serious arguments in favor of these ideas. In particular the following figure is cited: Last year Moscow gave its CIS partners 20 percent of its GNP in the form of oil and gas shipments and preferential credit. And this flow is not ending although it may be diminishing.

Third. If someone belongs to the school that regards the CIS as a "divorce agency," he acts in accordance with his convictions in practical matters. While, on the contrary, someone who favors rapprochement between these countries wants their closer integration. Hence the overlapping decisions, the failure to coordinate departmental interests, and, as a result, the severing of ties and failure to meet commitments to supply goods and make payments. This is a calamity not only for our partners but also for Russian enterprises.

[Shinkarenko] In your view, what steps must be taken to remove these obstacles at least?

[Adamishin] First, it is time we decided how we are going to build the "bridge"—along or across the river. The president's and government's position is clear—Russia must strive for closer integration of the former Soviet republics. In forms, moreover, which they consider possible for themselves.

The decision to build the "bridge" at several levels was a successful find, in my view. If Ukraine and Turkmenistan, say, want to accede to the Economic Union as associate members, let them do so. But one must not hamper those who are in favor of a more lasting union. Not only does that approach not exclude partners from the single economic area, but it is also reinforces centripetal tendencies.

The following detail is important too. Life itself has already made it necessary to seek ways of cooperation from below. The presidents and heads of state are outlining a strategic course for the development of ties. They will meet again in Ashgabat in a few days. Summit-level decisions are important because they form the backbone of the community. But it is the task of enterprises, associations, and private firms to provide the detail and the specifics with which to flesh out the structures that are being built.

[Shinkarenko] What kind of detail and specifics do you mean?

[Adamishin] Let me explain by giving the following example. We are in dispute with Kiev because Ukraine is not paying Russia for shipments of oil, gas, and other commodities. However our colleagues put forward the following argument: "You don't pay your debts to the West either, you ask for them to be rescheduled. So why do you want to take money off us now?" The suggestion that payment be made in property also meets with a refusal: This, they say, is an element in our independence. So what is to be done?

Commercial structures have found the answer. Buying energy sources for dollars from Russian producers, they sell oil and gas to the Ukrainians, and acquire metal, butter, and sugar with the hard currency they earn. They convey these goods to oil and gas men in the Urals and Siberia, earning considerable sums for themselves in the process. Enterprising businessmen operate successfully in areas where the state is unable to cope with its bureaucracy and sluggishness. They also maintain the horizontal production ties for which ministerial officials have no time.

Firms' work will be even more effective when reforms occur evenly in all the republics of the former USSR. That is not the case today. Whereas in Russia around a third of all state enterprises, particularly in light industry, have been floated and privatized, in other countries the figure is only 1.5-2 or at best 5 percent.

[Shinkarenko] But even in Russia we hear protests more often than approval of the reform course.

[Adamishin] It is the malcontents who are shrieking. But the people who have fixed themselves up in profitable ventures keep quiet. There are regrettably not that many of them, but they do exist. Some business people are already even providing the state with credit, loaning it millions of dollars. Transnational companies are working successfully.

I am not only talking about the economic sphere. Joint actions in the cultural sphere where ties have also been severed wholesale are equally important. In my view, this is one of the gravest consequences of the breakup of the USSR. It is a tragedy if people cannot owing to lack of money subscribe to a popular newspaper or journal from a neighboring country or buy a book by their favorite author. But here too there is noticeable progress. Readers obviously noticed the greetings message that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin sent to the International Foundation for Humanitarian and Economic Relations with the Russian Federation, set up in early-December in Ukraine. This foundation, led by former Ukrainian premier Vitold Pavlovich Fokin, has a great future. It will be a very good thing if similar cultural institutions, associations uniting people originating from similar geographical areas, and friendship societies appear in other countries too.

[Shinkarenko] There has been plenty of criticism of the Foreign Ministry in the editorial mailbag. In particular, one of our readers reproaches the ministry for allegedly not performing the diplomatic service's main task—failing to create a zone of peace and friendship around Russia. There are references to the strained relations with Kiev and the Baltic, the disputes over the ruble zone with Kazakhstan, the blazing seats of conflict in the Caucasus and Central Asia....

[Adamishin] I am gratified by this assessment of the Foreign Ministry's potential. Regrettably everything is not dependent on diplomats. Textbooks on international relations say that the result is only 5-percent dependent on foreign policy and 95-percent on factors such as economic might, cultural influence, and historical traditions. In a word, on the state's might. Nonetheless your reader's reproach is right. As the Foreign Ministry we have not done everything to ensure favorable conditions for the calm implementation of Russian reforms and to maintain good-neighborly relations with partners. We do not have enough specialists. And who could have thought that the Foreign Ministry would need experts on Ukraine and Tajikistan? And this at a time when the diplomatic corps has already been cut by 1,000 men. And the CIS is an "area" that the Foreign Ministry did not have to tackle before. In virtually all the CIS countries Russian embassies are housed in unworthy premises and the Foreign Ministry itself has only two-thirds of the required funding.

The USSR is often spoken of as an empire. If we were an empire, it was a hopeless one. Because all spiritual life in the republics was farmed out to the Communist Parties there and its leaders used to govern by feudal, clan laws.

Needless to say, not everything is that gloomy. The president and government of Russia have defined foreign policy toward the CIS as the priority area of Russian diplomacy. And this means that the best cadres are selected for work in embassies and in the Foreign Ministry department. Leading scientific centers help us out. And that is as it should be. Because, for instance, the fate of Russia does not depend on relations with the United States. On the one hand, we have switched from cold war to partnership and begun to reciprocally cut back the most dangerous nuclear arsenals. But there is still enough "hardware" to defend the country. But the conflict with Ukraine, for instance, may have unpredictable consequences. It is not merely Russia's prosperity or security, but her survivability in the direct sense of the word that depends on the relationship with Ukraine. And when polls say that one in three Ukrainians considers war with Russia a possibility, that frightens me. Especially since Kiev has put in a legal claim to possession of nuclear weapons.

We have formulated the methodology for combating regional and interethnic conflicts. The rules of play here are as follows. First, if possible, try not to get involved in the internal affairs of the disputing parties. Second. One must not side with any one party, but try to reconcile the adversaries and find a platform for a political settlement. Regrettably, this plan does not always work. Other Russian departments which have received greater autonomy either interfere, or the sides fail to meet their commitments.

[Shinkarenko] Is that why we are faltering in Tajikistan? Some of our readers describe the Foreign Ministry's actions in this region as a failure and are demanding that Russian border guards and troops be brought back home.

[Adamishin] We had no option in Tajikistan, regrettably: We had a physical presence in this region—our 201st Division and half a million Russian-speaking citizens. Nonetheless diplomacy has achieved some success: The bloody civil war has been terminated in the country and politicians have come to the negotiating table. As for withdrawing the troops, where could they go? We have no equipped border up to the Arctic Ocean. And many billions are needed to achieve this. What is more, in leaving the Afghan-Tajik border we would be opening the way for drugs, dangerous diseases, and terrorism to infiltrate Russia. And what would be the fate of our compatriots living in the region?

In our view, it is more logical to have transparent borders within the CIS and guard the former borders of the USSR by joint efforts.

[Shinkarenko] Nonetheless the editorial mailbag does indicate that ethnic Russians in nearby foreign countries feel uncomfortable. And that is why they are leaving their homes. Despite the difficulties that await them in their historical homeland. Can the Foreign Ministry provide them with any hope?

[Adamishin] Over 40 departments are currently tackling the affairs of our compatriots in nearby foreign countries. But there is no single coordinating center. The Foreign Ministry is incapable of this. There is also another problem. Legally we can only defend those people who have adopted Russian citizenship. And we know that they represent just 60,000 people out of roughly 25-30 million who gave Russian as their mother tongue in the last census.

Nonetheless there is a solution. On Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev's initiative the Foreign Ministry is now drafting a package of proposals, which presuppose a qualitative improvement in the approach to the problem of our compatriots. We think that new forms of work should match the new era. They could, roughly speaking, envisage a blend of economics and politics. What do I mean? It has already been said that last year Russia gave up 20 percent of its GNP to meet the needs of nearby foreign countries. If that is true, why cannot we ask our colleagues for something in return—ask them to introduce some concessions for Russians, for instance, in housing privatization, developing commercial activity and creating joint ventures and private firms. Taxes for Russian producers, particularly those who promote international production ties, could be lenient.

One could also ask courteously, in compliance with diplomatic protocol, for concessions for Russian schools, Russian-language newspapers and journals and when subscribing to central and regional [periferiyniy] Russian publications. We are also pinning great hopes on the new parliament, which may in the near future adopt the corresponding legislative acts to defend compatriots in nearby foreign countries.

As we can see, diplomats in the CIS region have plenty of work. But a start has been made. A course has been decided, and forms of action have been chosen and verified in practice. And they will bear fruit.

Official Comments on 'Urgent' Efforts on Nuclear Dumping

LD2412205493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 24 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The Russian Pacific Fleet's TNT-5 and TNT-27 tankers, in which liquid radioactive waste is stored, are in critical condition. That is why Russian and Japanese experts met in Tokyo to discuss measures that must be taken urgently. Interfax learned this from the chief Russian negotiator at the talks in Tokyo, Deputy Chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, Mikhail Kokeyev.

According to him, only emergency measures can prevent another dumping of liquid radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan.

As Kokeyev said, the two sides agreed that everything should be done to find another tanker capable of receiving up to 20 thousand tons of liquid waste from the TNT-5 and TNT-27 tankers. "The Japanese are already searching for such a vessel. The Russian side is also looking for it," he said.

The diplomat disagrees with those who believe that all Pacific Fleet tankers are old, and that none of them can be used for these needs. "In my view, the situation is different, and we'll be able to find something after all," Kokeyev said.

Nevertheless he conceded that this will not resolve the problem in principle. "But this solution will make it possible to keep the waste from being dumped, and create in the meantime an infrastructure designed to process it," Kokeyev said. "An appropriate complex should be built in Russia's Far East. We already have the "Zvezda" plant outside Vladivostok; this means we have something to lean on."

As soon as Russia dumped its liquid radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan, the diplomat said, Tokyo proclaimed its willingness to give aid in the building of utilization installations. "The trouble is that red tape exists not only in Russia, but also in Japan. That is why our delegation went to Tokyo to speed up the matter. It seems that we shall find an urgent solution after all, because the situation is very serious indeed," he said.

According to Kokeyev, he is aware of what the Japanese experts think - that the latest dumping made no impact on the ecological system in the Sea of Japan. "It's quite possible that this is so indeed. But we must not forget that a law on environmental protection has been passed in Russia. Point 3 of Article 50 in that law forbids all dumping of radioactive waste," he said. "In other words, the striving to build a facility for processing and utilizing nuclear waste answers to our own legislation and to the provisions of the White Paper of the Russian Federation, which states that our long-term goal is to end such dumping altogether."

With reference to the cost of utilization installations, the diplomat said: "All will depend on financing - within our country, which is always difficult, and from abroad. Now we have agreed on emergency measures, particularly on the possibility of using for these needs part of the 100 million dollar credit, an agreement on which was signed by President Boris Yeltsin during his visit to Tokyo."

Kokeyev found it hard to say what amount of money the Japanese will allocate for the construction of installations. "One installation will be enough for us. As for the possible expenditure, it will depend on the worth of the concrete program which is being drafted now," he said.

According to the diplomat, Russian and Japanese experts might convene for another conference in early January in Moscow.

Minister on Need for Foreign Aid

LD2712150993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1436 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—The dumping of radioactive wastes into the Sea of Japan could be avoided if Russia "got very urgent aid from its partners", in particular from Japan, Russian Minister for the Protection of the Environment and Natural Resources Viktor Danilov-Danilyan told ITAR-TASS today.

The minister mentioned, as part of this aid, a mobile installation for processing liquid radioactive wastes. Huge quantities of liquid wastes have accumulated on tankers and an accident may occur on one of them at any time. Russia has no capacities in the Far East to process liquid wastes. "A submarine cannot be dumped into a garbage bin like a child's toy," Danilov- Danilyan said. Liquid wastes will continue to accumulate for another five years even if Russia decided to liquidate its Navy.

"At the present time, Russian experts have drawn up a plan and timetable for building liquid radioactive wastes processing installations. It will be discussed by the government shortly," the minister stated. The fulfilment of this programme requires not only much money—10 billion roubles, but also time (about two years). Therefore, "Japan will either have to agree to a regular disposal of wastes or provide Russia with an installation to process them," Danilov-Danilyan stressed.

ROK Firms Not Paid for Goods Shipped to Former USSR

SK2512022893 Seoul YONHAP in English 0157 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 24 (YONHAP)—A number of South Korean companies failed to receive payments totaling 7 million U.S. dollars for goods they had shipped to the former Soviet Union more than two years ago, it was reported Friday.

According to South Korean firms doing business here, money owed by Russia to companies like Hyundai, Samsung and Lucky-Goldstar for products they had exported to the Soviet Union amounted to 7,788,000 dollars.

But they could not collect them since the Soviet Government imposed a freeze on foreign exchanges in December 1991, the Korean firms said.

The South Korean Government and business firms are expected to hold a meeting at the Korean Embassy here Dec. 30 to form a negotiating team to discuss with Russian authorities on the matter, they said.

The Russian Government is currently negotiating through the so-called Paris and London Clubs of creditors on repayment terms for the South Korean Government and bank loans to Russia. But with regard to payments on private trade, the Russian Government has not worked out any firm policy, the sources said.

Meanwhile, the South Korean Government was reported to have decided not to extend any more loans to Russia under the bilateral economic cooperation agreement as long as the repayment of previous loans is not made, sources said.

Political Issues

'Terrorists' Hold Hostages, Attempt To Flee to Iran

Seize Helicopter; Grachev Returns to Moscow

LD2312205293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Four terrorists seized a helicopter on a military airfield at Rostov-on-Don, Russia, and on Thursday [23 December] evening set off for Grozny, capital of the Russian Federation's separatist republic of Chechnya.

According to preliminary information, the hijackers, who have several hostages on board, including two airmen piloting the helicopter, intend to go to Iran, landing at Groznyy, Makhachkala and Baku on the way.

Well-informed sources told Interfax the other hostages were 12 schoolchildren, a woman school teacher, a bus driver and a military officer.

The terrorists, all of whom are from the Caucasus and have committed legal offenses in the past, released two schoolchildren on the airfield.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev decided to cut short his current visit to Turkmenistan and return to Moscow on Friday morning to coordinate an operation to free the hostages.

Demand $10 Million

LD2412054693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0515 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] [Announcer] On the line we have our North Caucasus correspondent Pavel Guskov. Good morning, we can hear you.

[Guskov] Good morning. I will repeat the news you have already heard. The helicopter with the hostages from Rostov is now at the Mineralnyye Vody 2 airport, where it landed at 0343 accompanied by two other helicopters.

First of all, the most important news: all the hostages are alive and well, so there is something to be happy about. Second piece of news: it has become known from information which has not been completely confirmed, because the relevant officials refuse to tell journalists anything, that the hijackers have given an ultimatum: that they be given ten million dollars by 0835. It is likely that this ultimatum will be satisfied, but the question is how quickly it will be possible to get this amount together. At present, negotiations are continuing. Pavel Guskov, specially for Mayak.

Ignore Government 'Ultimatum'

LD2512145093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Terrorists who are staying with hostages aboard a helicopter in the Mineralnyye Vody airport said they will take off after dark. The kidnappers are still holding up three boys, a bus driver and two pilots.

As soon as weathermen announced that the weather permitted to fly, the terrorists ordered the helicopter to be tugged by a tractor to a remote runway.

A few hours earlier an ultimatum on behalf of the Russian government was transmitted by radio to the kidnappers demanding to surrender and free the hostages immediatelly and without any preconditions. In this case their personal safety was guaranteed.

Apparently the ultimatum was ignored by the criminals.

The four terrorists have not been identified yet. Officials said the computer sketches of them are available and a photofit picture of one of the kidnappers, made with the help of the teenager hostages and their teacher which were freed on Friday [24 December] (one boy was freed Saturday morning) in return of a 10 million dollar ransom, was shown on Russian television.

Officials hope that some of televiewers will be able to identify the terrorists and supply additional data that may help to free the remaining hostages.

In the next few hours it will be clear whether the criminals are going to carry out their initial plans and fly to Tehran via Makhachkala and Baku.

Oficials fear they may change their plans and land elsewhere.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told reportes on Saturday that his office "maintains contacts on a high political level with Iran and other states to ensure joint actions to free the hostages".

ITAR-TASS correspondent in Rostov-on-Don, where nine teenagers and their teacher were kidnapped on Thursday, quoted the school principal as saying that the terrorists declared that they all were aids-infected and are going abroad for medical treatment. They also promised the hostages to give money and take them abroad.

The principal, Valentina Fedoseyeva, said that "the children burst into laugh first when three masked men armed with assault rifles, burst into their class". They thought it was a joke staged by their military instructor and only after the attackers fired three rounds into the ceiling the children realised it was serious.

Plan To Fly to Makhachhkala

LD2512215193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2136 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 26 TASS—The four terrorists holding five people hostage, including two schoolboys, in south Russian resort city of Mineralnyye Vody have delayed their takeoff for unknown reasons.

The takeoff was originally scheduled for 22:30 Moscow time to take the terrorists to Makhachkala, capital of neighbouring Dagestan, and then to Baku for refueling on their way to Iran.

The terrorists said that in Makhachkala they plan to exchange the remaining schoolchildren for Valentina Petrenko, a Russian foreign minister mediator at the talks with the terrorists. After refueling the helicopter will head for Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, where, as they said, she will be released.

Specialists do not rule out the possibility that the helicopter may land somewhere in the mountains after it leaves Baku to pick up its accomplices.

Speaking on Russian television late on Saturday, Petrenko said that the terrorists threatened to blow up the helicopter with the hostages if attempts are made to storm the helicopter.

She added that "the boys will be released only on condition that I will remain in the helicopter and will fly with them to Baku for refueling."

There have been no communication with the captors since she left the helicopter several hours ago. Members of the crisis-management committee say the delay might have been caused not only by weather conditions but also by changes in the terrorists' plans.

Gunmen To Swap Hostages

LD2612112793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1046 GMT 26 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Mineralnyye Vody, Stavropol Territory, December 26 TASS—Favourable weather conditions for a continuation of the flight of the helicopter with gunmen and hostages on board are expected to set in within the next few hours later on Sunday [26 December], local weathermen told ITAR-TASS. A further flight is still being prevented by low-lying clouds which reduce vertical visibility down to 60 meters.

Dense fog along the route of the expected flight to the capitals of Dagestan and Azerbaijan was expected to dispel by noon Sunday. In the area of Mozdok last night, the helicopter is known to have found itself in almost zero visibility conditions and encountered the danger of icing.

The operations headquarters which maintains contact with the gunmen has information that the two young and three adult hostages feel satisfactorily. The Mineralnyye Vody airport services regularly deliver meals to those on board. One still has to approach the helicopter at gunpoint.

The suppositions that the gunmen have a high-powered explosive device have been confirmed.

The earlier reached understanding that the two Rostov schoolboys will be released during the helicopter's intermediate landing in Makhachkala, still holds good, according to the operations headquarters which maintains contact with the gunmen.

According to information from unofficial sources, there is no question of replacing the helicopter by an aircraft. The helicopter may only be replaced by another one.

The gunmen will release the two schoolboys in Makhachkala in exchange for Valentina Petrenko, the Russian foreign minister's personal representative, who will board the helicopter and become a hostage.

Petrenko and the Rostov bus driver are to be released by the gunmen upon landing in Baku for refueling. The two air pilots who are being held hostage will proceed to Tehran.

Hijackers Release Hostages

LD2612170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 26 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazkhin]

[Text] Mineralnyye Vody (Mineral Waters) December 26 TASS—The helicopter with the gunmen, who abducted eleven children, their teacher, a bus driver and a serviceman from Rostov-on-Don on Friday [24 December], left Mineralnyye Vody at 18.40 Moscow time on Sunday. Before the take-off, two remaining children and the bus driver were released by the terrorists. The helicopter now carries four gunmen and two helicopter crew.

The helicopter is now heading for Makhachkala, capital of Dagestan, as announced by the gunmen from the very beginning.

Soskovets: 'No Serious Mistakes'

LD2712012393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Deputy Russian Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets believes no serious mistakes were made in the hostage release operation. He led the work of the government headquarters in Mineralnyye Vody, where the helicopter with the hostages taken by the terrorists remained for a long time.

All Four Hijackers Under Arrest

LD2712064093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0630 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] All four terrorists who took Rostov children hostage have been detained, the head of the duty unit of the Russian Interior Ministry Colonel Arkadiy Turkin told Mayak a few minutes ago. He was referring to information received orally from Dagestan. Investigations are under way.

Hijackers Identified

LD2712102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0933 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Makhachkala, 27 Dec—All four terrorists who kidnapped hostages in Rostov-on-Don on 23 December have been identified. The leader of the gang is Arslan Kasimov, born in 1945, a native of Azerbaijan, who has a criminal record. Abdulgafar Abduzhalimov, a native of Tashkent, born in 1972, is a fifth-year student at the faculty of applied mechanics of Tashkent University. Anatoliy Mikheyev, born in 1949, a native of Sverdlovsk, Russian, is a navigator by profession and was discharged from the Air Force for drunkenness; recently he has been unemployed. The fourth thug is Marat Kauzbekov, born in 1974, native of Tashkent, a Kazakh and second-year student at Tashkent Institute of Architecture.

Nearly all of the $10 million handed over to the terrorists has been recovered, except for a small sum which, according to gang leader Arslan Kasimov, was thrown out of the helicopter over Chechen territory.

Yeltsin Thanks Participants

LD2712115293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has thanked the participants of the operation to save Rostov-on-Don schoolchildren from the hands of terrorists, and all those who at this alarming time had helped the government, the local authorities, and the law enforcement bodies.

As indicated in a statement released by the presidential press service here, Yeltsin has stressed that this hour of trial has revealed the best qualities of our people, who have never been indifferent to the grief of others, and whose souls have not become callous today, too.

As earlier reported, the operation to rescue the hostages and arrest the terrorists ended in Dagestan, southern Russia, today.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Reorganizing Council of Ministers

LD2412175493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1745 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin was signed on Thursday [23 December] to reorganize the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation, the presidential press service reports.

The Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation shall be reorganized into the Government of the Russian Federation since the moment of introduction of the new Russian Constitution.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is instructed to submit proposals on changes in government membership, including considerable reduction of its strength.

He will also submit proposals on reorganization of some Russian state committees into ministries of the Russian Federation; and reduction of some ministries, state committees and other departments of the Russian Federation, primarily those duplicating functions of other institutions and supervising spheres not included by the Russian Constitution in the competence sphere of the Russian Federation.

Shumeyko: Government To Be 'More Compact'

LD2412212393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The federal government will be more compact to fall into line with the new Constitution approved in the referendum on December 12, First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told INTERFAX on Friday [24 December].

In his view, the number of vice premiers must be cut down to two instead of nine as now (Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has 3 first vice premiers and 6 vice premiers). Shumeyko says one of them can handle the economics and industry and the other be responsible for the areas of science, culture, education, social security and contacts with political parties.

The number of sectorial ministers must be brought down to 30-35, but the role they play heightened.

Shumeyko said that with the adoption of the new Constitution, many of the provisions of the federal treaty on devolving powers to the regions have now come into force. Accordingly, a number of federal ministries and departments handling questions such as utilities, forestry and water resources will be abolished.

The governors of Russian regions who sat as cabinet ministers will no longer do so under the new Constitution which will trim the government by 21 other members.

Shumeyko said Yeltsin had instructed his Prime Minister to put forward proposals on government reform which would come under discussion by the next meeting of senior cabinet members.

He denied speculation about impending government purges for political reasons and adherence to different political groups such as Russia's Choice, the Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRUC] and the Agrarian Party. Vice Premiers Sergey Shakhray and Aleksandr

Shokhin were elected to the State Duma on a PRUC ticket while First Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha ran on an AP list.

New appointments will be made on the basis of competence but not until after the composition of a new cabinet is known, the Russian official said.

The 48-year-old Shumeyko was elected to the upper house of parliament, the Federation Council, from the Kaliningrad election district. He was Deputy Speaker of the previous parliament until June 1992, but had later become Vice Premier and then First Vice Premier.

The government is known to be working over several options for a cabinet make up and the Prime Minister has held a series of consultations with senior cabinet ministers. One of these provides for the post of one first vice premier and at least 5 vice premiers who will be barred from holding a ministerial job concurrently, as is now permitted. Chernomyrdin is expected to hold further consultations on the issue, well-informed sources told INTERFAX.

Yeltsin Edict on Preparations for Federal Assembly

PM2312124693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

["Edict of the President of the Russian Federation on the Organizational Center for Preparation for the First Sessions of the Chambers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly," No. 2229, 20 December 1993]

[Text] With a view to ensuring high-quality preparation for the first sessions of the Federation Council and State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly:

1. S.A. Filatov, head of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation, is to set up an Organizational Center.

2. The financing of expenditure relating to the activity of the Organizational Center is to be funded by the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation
[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 20 December 1993, No. 2229.

Yeltsin Signs Immigration Control Edict

PM2312131593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 93 First Edition p 5

[Presidential Edict No. 2145 "On Measures To Introduce Immigration Control"]

[Text] With a view to ensuring state regulation of immigration flows when foreign citizens and stateless persons enter Russian Federation territory I decree:

1. That immigration control be introduced at checkpoints across the Russian Federation state border, assigning immigration control implementation to the organs of the Russian Federal Migration Service.

It must be determined that the main tasks of immigration control at checkpoints across the state border are:

control over the entry onto the country's territory of foreign citizens or stateless persons seeking asylum or in transit, their identification, registration, and recording;

the implementation of measures to prevent uncontrolled migration and the organization of the deportation of foreigners in cases and within the procedure stipulated by acts of legislation;

the examination of appeals for asylum from foreign citizens and stateless persons who have come to Russian territory.

2. That it be established that immigration control is conducted in specially equipped premises at checkpoints across the Russian Federation border.

3. That the Russian Federal Migration Service in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport, the Russian Federation Ministry of Railroads, and the organs of executive power of the components of the Russian Federation determine the immigration control points and their opening hours.

4. That the Russian Federal Migration Service submit within a month for approval by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government a Statute on immigration control on the Russian Federation state border coordinated with the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice.

5. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport, the Russian Federation Ministry of Railroads, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Administration of State Property, and the organs of executive power of the components of the Russian Federation take steps to allocate premises and equipment for the implementation of the Russian Federal Migration Service organs' immigration control activities.

6. That it be established that the expenses of the Russian Federal Migration Service on creating immigration control points and places for migrants' temporary detention are financed using funds from the Russian Federation republican budget earmarked for the implementation of the migration program.

7. That the Russian Federal Migration Service in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Communications, the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Russian Federation Committee for Information Technology examine the possibility and conditions for

the use of existing information communications systems with a view to implementing immigration control activity.

8. That the Russian Federal Migration Service in conjunction with the Russian Federation ministries and departments concerned submit within a month to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government proposals regarding foreign citizens and stateless persons who arrive on Russian Federation territory and who are there in search of asylum regarding their status and the procedure for their temporary accommodation and conditions of residence.

9. That the Russian Federal Migration Service in conjunction with the Russian Federation State Committee for Higher Education submit within two months to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government proposals for training cadres for the immigration control system.

10. That the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government provide as of 1994 for an increase in the number of workers in the Russian Federal Migration Service to provide a full complement of cadres for the immigration control system and for the allocation of additional funds for their maintenance.

11. That this edict be submitted for the examination of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

12. That this edict enters into force from the moment it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 16 December 1993.

Yeltsin Ratifies Provision on Civil Service

LD2412100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1942 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 23 December (ITAR-TASS)—As the Operational Information Center of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation reported today, on 22 December a provision on the federal civil service was ratified by decree of the president of the Russian Federation.

This act establishes the fundamental principles of the civil service as a major element of a democratic law-based state. They include making it subject to the law and accountable and free of party affiliation. There is provision for equal access of citizens of Russia to the civil service primarily on a competitive basis.

The provisions incorporate enhanced requirements in the field of personal responsibility and professional qualities for civil servants and loss of rights dictated by the interests of the state are made good by appropriate guarantees and welfare protection. Introduction of class ranks is envisaged as an element of organization and raising the social status of the institution of the civil service. The procedure for career in the civil service is defined, including qualifying examination, periodic certification, and probation period both on acceptance into the civil service and during progress through the service.

Persons working in the apparatuses of the federal bodies of representational, executive, and judicial power at the moment the decree comes into force, are considered as being in the federal civil service. The provision does not extend to persons with regard to whom questions of performance of service and holding office are regulated by previously-adopted laws.

The Government of the Russian Federation is instructed to draft a package of normative acts for the implementation of the provision on the civil service and the president's decree, and also, on the basis of analysis of the application of the said provision, a bill of the Russian Federation on the federal civil service.

Government Issues Decree on Identity Documents

LD2412150493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2004 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 23 December (ITAR-TASS)—In order to ensure necessary conditions for enabling citizens to enjoy their rights and freedoms as well as to improve the registration of the population and perfect control over the issuing of official identity documents to citizens, the Council of Ministers-the government of the Russian Federation [RF] DECREES:

1. To accept the proposal by the RF Interior Ministry and the RF Foreign Ministry as agreed with the RF Finance Ministry, the RF Economy Ministry, and other interested ministries and departments on creating a state-wide automated system of registering the population and citizens' official identity documents.

2. To instruct the RF Interior Ministry and the RF Foreign Ministry in conjunction with the RF Finances Ministry, the RF Economy Ministry, and other interested organizations to draw up and submit to the Council of Ministers-the Government of the Russian Federation by established procedure in the second quarter of 1994 an agreed draft purposeful federal program for creating a state-wide automated system of registering the population and citizens' official identity documents.

[Signed] Chairman of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation V.Chernomyrdin

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Chernomord Nominated Head of Control Budget Committee

LD2412203493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1910 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin nominated Pyotr Chernomord chairman of the control-budget committee today.

The decree also removed Maria Polunina from this post, the presidential press service reports.

Government Leaders' 23 Dec Activities Reported

PM2412111993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch: Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **The Council of Ministers' Working Day**

[Passage omitted] First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets is in Moscow. He met with the vice president of Cuba's Council of Ministers and discussed with him a broad range of questions concerning Russian-Cuban economic relations. In the evening the first vice premier held a conference on questions concerning the Russian Federation Ministry of Communications.

First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar received French Ambassador to the Russian Federation Pierre Morel.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko held working meetings.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin flew to Ashgabat together with the head of the Russian Government to participate in the session of the Council of CIS Heads of Government.

During the day Vice Premiers Anatoliy Chubays and Sergey Shakhray held a series of working meetings and worked on documents.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov took part in the work of a plenum of the Russian Federation Industry's Timber Sector Workers Trade Union Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Further Reaction to Disbandment of Security Ministry

Reasons for Action Reviewed

MK2312115093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1, 2

[Pavel Koltsov report under the "Secret Services" rubric: "Yeltsin Abolishes the KGB in a Second Attempt"]

[Text] It is well known that on 21 December President Yeltsin issued an edict on abolishing the Russian Security Ministry. Thus, the dream of many generations of dissidents, anti-Soviet propagandists, liberals, democrats, spies, and saboteurs has come true—the monster called the VChK-OGPU-NKVD-NKGB-MGB-KGB-MB—has kicked the bucket. The only thing one may regret about it is that Boris Yeltsin did not sign the edict on 20 December—the Day of the Chekists. That would have made the historic event particularly rich.

What was the domestic state security service's fault? "Against the backdrop of democratic, constitutional transformations going on in Russia, the current system of ensuring the Russian Federation's security has outlived itself, has become inefficient and burdensome for the state budget; it has been a deterrent in pursuing political and economic reform," the presidential edict says.

How did Russian Security Ministry chiefs react to the charges? On 22 December, at 1300 Moscow time, Lubyanka was still keeping silence. Your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent was told at the Russian Security Ministry's Public Relations Center: "We still have no (!) official text of the edict. So there is nothing to comment on."

Another funny detail: In the evening of 21 December, hearing a report about the aforementioned edict on the radio, your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent tried to learn details from an informed source at the Security Ministry. Ironically, your correspondent happened to be the first to break this news to him.

Does this mean that the system's demise proved so unexpected for its staffers? To all appearances, not so. At any rate, they could have discerned worrying symptoms, particularly recently, when the press started reporting numerous leaks predicting drastic reforms at the Security Ministry. As a matter of fact, this was confirmed by some officials from the ministry's central staff. "Everything is quiet in Baghdad!" [a phrase from a popular movie, "Alladin's Magic Lamp"], officers said, meaning that they were psychologically prepared for what had happened. Moreover, they know what is to be done next. In their words, the presidential decision is a painful blow for the self-esteem of a fairly large group of chekists.

It follows from the edict that from now on there will be a Federal Counterintelligence Service in Russia. Nikolay Golushko, now former Russian security minister, was appointed its chief. At first glance, this is a surprising decision, since from the very first day of his appointment Mr. Golushko was seen by many observers as a purely ceremonial figure, who was about to be replaced by First Deputy Minister Sergey Stepashin. By some accounts, however, as soon as the beginning of 1994 Mr. Stepashin may still take over as the new agency's chief. As for Mr. Golushko, he will retire under an entirely plausible pretext because he has already reached retirement age.

According to Anatoliy Volobuyev, doctor of law and a famous independent expert in crime and law-enforcement agencies, the dissolution of the Russian Security Ministry may be seen as a positive step by the country's authorities, which has, perhaps, long been overdue.

"The very structure of this agency was originally based on two premises: the struggle against dissent, and spy mania," he said. "Let it be recalled that after the 1991 coup plot, when the KGB was stripped of most of these functions, it took them a fairly long time to decide how they could employ a huge mass of people. As a result, the Security Ministry was effectively turned into a body duplicating the Internal Affairs Ministry. At the same time, the Security Ministry has never been able to achieve tangible results in the struggle against crime and corruption. One can count all its more or less important achievements on the fingers of one hand. It would have been much more logical to set up an entirely new federal structure (one or several—this is a technical matter) on the KGB's technical base (not on the basis of its personnel, who suffer nostalgia for the past) to deal with a serious analysis of the processes under way in the organized criminal environment and to conduct investigations of criminal cases of national importance. It would have been more logical to turn over a part of the immense technical and agent resources left from the KGB to the militia. In this event the structure (structures) could have become really effective as an analogue of the FBI. The reason for this is that the main advantage of the former KGB and the Security Ministry was that their local branches have always been and remain independent from the authorities, something which can hardly be said about the militia."

However, it is yet hard to draw definite conclusions. First, this edict has clearly caused displeasure and certain resistance inside the Security Ministry, because many people there are, as the saying goes, "of the old school." Second, it is not yet known what the president plans to do. Will the Security Ministry actually be disbanded? Or will this be merely yet another name change accompanied by restructuring as was already the case in late 1991?

Reasons for Abolition Viewed

MK2312112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Volkov report: "The President Has Weaned Us"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Sociological surveys show that Russia's population is increasingly concerned over rising crime. It is angry with the authorities primarily owing to corruption among government officials. Given that throughout the past few years the citizens of Russia have been authoritatively told that the KGB and only the KGB—not being tainted by corruption, in contrast to the police—is capable of fighting the mafia, it is quite likely that those who have just voted in the elections will relate with bitterness and understanding to the abolition of the Security Ministry: Well, even the communists have been telling us that the authorities seek to get out of the way those who defend us against the thieves.... Of course, we were afraid of the KGB but the criminals also seemed to be afraid.

It is not known, of course, whether political surveillance will really be abolished, whether these services will change their stripes or pass under the personal control of the presidential apparatus. Boris Yeltsin has told the people: We have disbanded the KGB. In the eyes of the people his statement about destroying the last buttress of the Soviet system takes on a profound meaning: After all, the strongest buttress is not the KGB itself but the respect which a substantial part of Russians have for it. This is a feeling which a common Soviet man has acquired with the milk of his mother to whose breast his hand is still reaching out. The president is destroying not so much the KGB as the mentality of the USSR citizens with its inbred paternalism and irresponsibility.

Mr. Yeltsin has therefore told citizens of Russia: You have made you choice on 12 December and now I am making mine. Whether you like it or not, whether it may raise my opponents' standing, as of now you cannot count on the KGB. And there is no one to defend you except yourselves, and, until 1996, Boris Yeltsin in person. Nostalgia for a bright communist yesterday with its everyday care for man will apparently increase as a result, but maybe with the disappearance from citizens' active vocabulary of the word combination "the committee for state (and therefore their own) security" will also come a certain maturity.

Ex-KGB Chief Views Reorganization

MK2412111093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 23/25, 24-31 Dec 93 (Signed to press 23 Dec) p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Leonid Shebarshin, former KGB intelligence chief, by Rodion Morozov under the "Ring to a General" rubric: "Political Surveillance in Russia May Revive"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin signed on 21 December an edict scrapping Russia's Security Ministry and creating a Russian Federation Federal Counterintelligence Service. Thus the repeatedly denied rumors of a contemplated reorganization, or an actual splitting of the Security Ministry into separate services and directorates, have finally become officially confirmed. We have asked Lieutenant General Leonid Shebarshin, former chief of the KGB First Chief Directorate, (foreign intelligence) to comment on the impending changes.

[Morozov] To what extent is such a reorganization justified?

[Shebarshin] When a system is being broken up into separate cells, its efficiency inevitably falls. At the same time, its maintenance expenditures go up. This is also true in the given case. Instead of a single agency that had considerable capabilities and could make sanctioned use of them, we are getting, to all appearances, several independent institutions. Each would insist on increasing its management staff, on more space—hence additional grants. As for counterintelligence, I do not think that taking it out of the integral mechanism of state security will benefit its operation. The operation of this service is closely linked with border guard forces, and other subunits that fight terrorism, organized crime. Now this link most probably will be disrupted. This is precisely at a time when our international partners' intelligence services are operating in Russia absolutely freely and on a scale unprecedented in the past.

[Morozov] The president accounted for his edict by the intention to do away with the "tool of political surveillance" once and for all....

[Shebarshin] I do not know whether this is a delusion in good faith or an attempt to delude others. Everything is totally different. Whereas a unified security system could be controlled by parliament, all of a sudden several organizations having the right to do operational investigation appear where there was one—control is in fact no longer possible. And I am afraid that now, that they are finding themselves actually outside the field of vision of the new parliament and society, surveillance may again become part of our life as a tool of political struggle. More so because there are all the grounds to believe that there already exists in Russia, or it may soon appear, an organ (like a main political directorate) by whose will the outwardly disconnected agencies would find themselves linked together and would fill the political order set them.

[Morozov] In this case, what do you think about the real motives for the "dismemberment" of the Russian Security Ministry?

[Shebarshin] Attempts to draw security organs into politics, to impose functions not characteristic of them, have been made more than once in recent times. One of the reasons that spurred today's authority to take this step is exactly the fact that while the Security Ministry existed in its former shape, this did not work. It may work this time.

Silence of FCS Questioned

PM2412145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 first Edition p p 1-2

[Igor Andreyev and Valeriy Yakov article: "Federal Counterintelligence Service Keeps Silent in Best Chekist Traditions"]

[Text] Even today, several days after the presidential edict which shocked many people, even the leaders of the abolished Russian Ministry of Security it seems, with its suddenness, the department is preferring not to comment on this event of such importance. How can this be explained? Is it that the leadership of the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] is perplexed? Or is it because of an attempt to conceal from the public the underlying reasons for the crisis? The second possibility is indirectly confirmed by a fact known to the editorial office: The edict was prepared in haste without the participation of the country's Security Council.

It is obvious—and this circumstance was publicly acknowledged by the ministry's leadership—that it had not managed to foresee and avert the bloody turn of events of 2-4 October. At a briefing immediately after the mutiny had been put down, the chief of the Russian Ministry of Security, Nikolay Golushko, described as a shortcoming the fact that the department had failed to keep a close eye on the radical parties and movements which had been passing themselves off as perfectly respectable political entities. But the Russian Ministry of Security, having turned to the country's leadership, had been about to obtain the right to take this closer look as a preventive measure.

Generally speaking, the Russian Ministry of Security had been hoping even quite recently to reorganize itself relatively painlessly.

To judge by the utterances of N. Golushko and of his first deputy, S. Stepashin, the package of proposals on the ministry's reorganization also included the idea of merging all the armed protection subunits existing in the country. As the minister observed, after their reorganization there was to have been a unified service for security of the top organs of power, possibly, within the framework of the department that he himself headed.

God protect us from a repetition of the October nightmare but it is likely that a Ministry of Security that had been reformed, even if only in accordance with the two aforementioned formulas, would have played a more comprehensible role in resolving the conflict. The only question is—on whose side? And can one expect political impartiality from a powerful, well armed service designed to keep a close eye on unreliable (where are the criteria?) parties? So then, is it not doubts of that kind which caused such a radical reaction by the president who percieved in the Security Ministry's proposals a relapse toward the regeneration or restoration of the former functions of the all-powerful KGB?

In order to avoid conjecture, rumor, and inaccurate interpretations, IZVESTIYA has been trying for several days now to obtain information from the most informed sources—the leadership of the former Security Ministry and now of the Federal Counterintelligence Service, which, strictly speaking, is engaged on drawing up proposals for the creation of the new structure.

The failure of our attempts convinces us of one thing, at least: The Federal Counterintelligence Service from its very first moves, remains loyal to the traditions of the All-Russian Extraordianry Commission for Combating Counterrevolution, Sabotage, and Speculation, the KGB, and the Security Ministry in their dealings with the press. If one takes account of the fact that in this instance our interest does not extend to lists of agents, the addresses of secret rendezvous, and the names of resident agents, but was merely dictated by the anxious expectations of the ordinary citizen who knew what to expect from the old special services but who now will not be able to understand what to expect from the new ones, then the familiar tricks of keeping mum played by the leadership of the Federal Counterintelligence Service are, alas, not encouraging. Especially as Nikolay Golushko, the present director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service, when leader of the Security Ministry, complained in an informal contact with one of us quite recently that he was being unjustly reproached for being excessively inaccessible to the press and promised "in the immediate future to receive IZVESTIYA and answer any questions over a cup of tea."

Shaking hands on bidding farewell at that time, Nikolay Mikhaylovich said with a smile: "Call me." We called him. An aide redirected us to the Public Relations Center, where, at the moment, they too do not know how to respond.

So the questions remain and the tea has long since gone cold.

Edict 'No Encumbrance' to Border Troops

PM2412195793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Igor Andreyev and Valeriy Yakov: "Border Troops Take Edict on Security Ministry Calmly"]

[Text] The style of communication between high-ranking specialist officials and the press via the tight-lipped Public Relations Center has not, fortunately, become the norm for all services and departments.

The leadership of the Border Troops, which was part, incidentally, of the structure of the disbanded Security Ministry and which also has its own press service, had more than once redirected IZVESTIYA's direct calls to that service and thereby used subordinates to dodge awkward questions. The same held true this time when we telephoned Border Troops Chief of Staff Aleksandr Tymko, who is replacing the commander while the latter is on assignment, and asked him to comment on the well-known edict.

Aleksandr Ivanovich said that the border troops are continuing as before to carry out their duty of safeguarding the state border, that the edict is no encumbrance to them, that all essential information is being reported to the leadership of the country—the president and the prime minister—and that collaboration with border counterintelligence services continues and will be maintained in the future, as effective protection of the border is inconceivable without it.

More detailed studies and proposals on the status of the Border Troops will be prepared within the next two weeks as required by the edict, and the Border Troops leadership will gladly comment on them for IZVESTIYA's readers. However, it asks us to stress right now particularly for the benefit of border troops' parents that there are no grounds for concern that soldiers' service will become more difficult as a result of the new reorganization.

Yavlinskiy Questions Reorganization

MK2512101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Aleksey Grishin report, incorporating INTERFAX interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, in the "Problem" column: "The Activity of All Security Ministry Officers Throughout Russia Has Been Paralyzed. Any Action by Them, Even in the National Interests, Is Now Deemed Illegal"]

[Text] The unexpected disbandment of the Russian Security Ministry announced by Boris Yeltsin on 21 December has produced a real shock both within the Security Ministry and outside it. As is known, the presidential edict talks about abolishing this structure and creating on its basis a new one—the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS]. A little later the FCS director and his deputy were appointed—former Security Ministry chiefs Nikolay Golushko and Sergey Stepashin. In the next two weeks, under the president's decision, they are to prepare a concept for and proposals on reforming the FCS. Therefore, the old special service has already been abolished while there is no law legitimizing the new one and laying down principles of its activity.

In accordance with the current regulations on military service, as of the moment of disbandment all former Russian Federation Security Ministry employees, whose number approximates 130,000, have been taken off the staff—i.e., removed from their posts (under the law, a serviceman may be in such a position for up to two months) pending a leadership decision on their fate. This means that officers of all subdivisions of the former Security Ministry must stop their work, which, according to reliable sources in the ministry, is what has actually happened. Operational subdivisions have suspended their action; investigators do not know what to do with criminal cases and detained criminals, and so forth. Detention centers of the former Security Ministry, including Lefortovo prison, have been placed in a peculiar situation. In other words, at present there are no people in Russia today, except for Golushko and Stepashin, who have legitimate rights to engage in operations against terrorism, smuggling, espionage, and so forth. It is worth recalling that the Security Ministry has been fulfilling a great number of other functions, such as protection of state secrets and prevention of their leaks, oversight of the ecological situation, ensuring the safety of nuclear power stations, and many others.

Here is another interesting question: What will the future FCS be like? Counterintelligence is a fairly broad notion. For instance, in the former Security Ministry this problem was the duty of four different chief directorates: the counterintelligence directorate (which acted only against foreign special services), the economic security directorate (the safety of industrial enterprises and industrial espionage), the communications directorate, and the military counterintelligence directorate. Importantly, these structures constituted only approximately a fourth of the entire Security Ministry personnel. The anti-corruption and smuggling service, the archives and the enormous technical services, including explosion experts who have been engaged in defusing various explosive devices, have now been left effectively out of business.

In an interview with INTERFAX Grigoriy Yavlinskiy thus commented on the Russian Federation president's edict abolishing the Russian Federation Security Ministry:

"In the past two years Russia's security bodies have been subjected to reorganization four times.

"The motives for this next reorganization are of a purely propagandist character. Political surveillance can be conducted with the wish or the connivance of the country's leadership by any department, regardless of its name.

"If one assumes that this step has been taken as a result of the president's mistrust in the Security Ministry structures, the preservation of the former leadership in the newly created organization does not allow even this conclusion to be made.

"Effective operation by security services is especially important today in the face of rampant organized crime, while no country borders have been established and armed conflicts are occurring in proximity to Russia as well as on its own territory.

"It is impossible to strengthen the country's national security and to really abolish political persecution and surveillance through just another reshuffle. Its effects will be contrary to what was expected: disorientation of security service officers, lack of control, arbitrariness, a new wave of cadre flight, and a temporary paralysis in the fight against crime owning to the state of uncertainty.

"We would like to draw attention to the immediate implications of the presidential edict. An ostensible gain from shifting the newly created Federal Counterintelligence Service under the direct control of the Russian Federation president will be grossly outweighed by the negative attitude of the security service officers to another reorganization whose aims have not been explained to them. The initiators of this decision did not think about who might try to use the present situation in the Security Ministry or what its officers will do after dismissal or what forces can gain dividends from this.

"The maintenance of order and tranquillity in Russia calls for the creation of an effectively operating depoliticized security system. A mere liquidation of security structures will not change the elections results, will not improve the economic situation, and will not stabilize the political process."

FIS Official Interviewed on Changes, Cuts

MK2112140693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with Tatyana Samolis, press secretary of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) director, under the "Secret Services" rubric: "'Revolutionary Transformations in the Russian Intelligence Service Are Over,' FIS Director's Press Secretary Claims"]

[Text] One can assume that "revolutionary transformations" and cuts in the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service are effectively over, Tatyana Samolis, press secretary of the FIS director, said in an interview for INTERFAX.

She pointed out that in the two years of its existence (the FIS was removed from the former KGB structure on 18 December 1991), the Russian intelligence service has given up "globalism." "Presently, our intelligence service has forgone its former 'appetites' and it operates where we actually have real, not imaginary, interests."

According to Tatyana Samolis, this resulted in cutting the central staff by 40 percent. The foreign staff was nearly halved, too, and around 30 field stations abroad have been closed. A number of department and administrations, in particular the administration for tracking a possible nuclear missile attack, have been abolished. The press secretary clarified that it was tasked with collecting the most diverse information, such as whether "extra" lights are on in the Pentagon or whether the quantity of donor blood has gone up.

Leaving the cold war behind, Tatyana Samolis continued, the world has become a different, but, alas, a no less dangerous place. Instead of old administrations that have already become unneeded, new ones have sprung up. For instance, an administration has been set up in the FIS for tracking the processes of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Another new FIS administration is in charge of cooperation with Western secret services. According to Tatyana Samolis, the Russian intelligence service is already switching from confrontation to cooperation with services that were formerly seen as "enemy No. 1 or, say, No. 2." "The issue is our joint struggle against international crime, terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal arms trade, and also the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction."

INTERFAX's interlocutor said that in the current conditions the intelligence service "simply has to operate as a Russian structure, as a foreign policy tool, which helps the country's leaders make adequate decisions, sparing Russia unpleasant surprises. As it stopped being a weapon of confrontation, the FIS has become a tool of control that has a stabilizing role to play," Tatyana Samolis emphasized. "This does not mean, however, that it has relinquished its inherent function—conducting intelligence in the interests of its state."

Tatyana Samolis stressed that the Russian intelligence service has been using "civilized" methods of work. It is obliged to do so by the law on intelligence, which bans methods such as blackmailing or the use of medical drugs that may be a health hazard. "We can state already that more and more agents working for the FIS have been doing so voluntarily. In other words, a person becomes an agent only if he or she is willing to help Russia—for money or simply out of sympathy."

When asked about the Russian intelligence service's strength, Ms. Samolis said that these figures may be made public provided the authorities, such as the new parliament, make an appropriate decision on the subject. "We should not forget the main thing: An intelligence service is only a tool that operates according to the authorities' will. It never makes political decisions and will never be different from what these authorities want it to be," Tatyana Samolis said.

In her view, removing the FIS from the KGB, that is, from the system of law-enforcement agencies, and banning party cells from operating in it has "in certain measure saved the intelligence service, because now there is no room here for settling any political scores." "FIS staffers may not be members of political parties. Of course, this does not ban FIS staffers from sympathizing with existing political views and currents," the press secretary of the FIS director said.

Constitutional Court Proposes Draft Law

MK2512125593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[RIA report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Moscow"]

[Text] The Russian Constitutional Court has drawn up the draft law "On the Constitutional Court" and submitted it to the Russian president's Commission for Legislative Proposals for expert appraisal. This was announced by acting Constitutional Court chairman Nikolay Vitruk. The Law on the Constitutional Court is one of the 12 constitutional laws that are envisioned by the Russian Constitution. Nikolay Vitruk emphasized that the draft law's main objective is not to let the Constitutional Court be turned into a tool of political confrontation. In his view, such metamorphoses can easily lead to sad consequences, which was graphically demonstrated by the tragic events in Moscow this fall. Most Constitutional Court members, Nikolay Vitruk said, proposed that an article be added to the law on terminating the powers of Constitutional Court judges who exploit the court's authority for the purpose of political struggle. It is also planned to include a provision in the law on electing a Constitutional Court chairman every three or five years by the judges themselves. The draft does not rule out, as an alternative, the Constitutional Court chairman's appointment by the Council of the Federation at the recommendation of the Russian Federation president.

Reform of Local Government Assessed

PM2412095993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Olga Kondratyeva report: "How to Govern at Local Level"]

[Text] The Union of Russian Cities has existed since 1991. It includes most Federation component capitals and developed industrial centers—94 cities in all. Apart from individual membership there is also collective membership for regional associations of cities—Siberia and the Far East, nuclear cities, and cities in the Moscow Region. Here is what Valeriy Kirpichnikov, president of the Union of Russian Cities, said.

"This October a Russian presidential edict was signed on reforming local self-government. The edict can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it eliminated representative authority in the shape of the local soviets, transferring their functions to the executive. Since then, local self-government based on the elective principle has virtually ceased to exist. On the other hand, the decree opened up—with the exception of one fundamental point—real new opportunities for the development of self-government at the local level.

"The edict envisages elections of representative organs of power with new functions—purely representative organs without the executive admixture that we had in the past. Their number has also been reduced, although ultimately this will be determined by Federation components.

"A permanent basis for the work of representative organs is not declared in the edict. We previously saw in the soviets a combination of 'released' and 'unreleased' deputies. I think that the system of self-government itself filters through those who will work on a permanent basis.

"We view the election of new representative organs of power as a decisive factor in stabilizing Russian statehood. Our aim is to create our own lobby in the new parliament so as not to allow deputies to forget about the local authorities' problems.

"In general we would like to get rid of one government headache by taking upon ourselves problems which can be resolved through self-organization. The local authorities should only depend on Moscow when it comes to strategic state policy. All the tasks of providing for the lives of the population should be resolved at local level."

Rumors of State Federation Committee's Abolition Denied

MK2312111093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "State Committee for the Affairs of Nationalities To Remain Intact"]

[Text] Gadzhimagomed Gadzhimagomedov, assistant of Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, has categorically denied that the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities may be abolished and its chairman, Mr. Shakhray, may subsequently have to resign.

Media Issues

Edict on State Management of Media Published

PM2412123193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Edict No. 2255 of the Russian Federation president, signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993: "On Improving State Management in the Mass Information Sphere"]

[Text] With a view to improving state management in the mass information sphere, I decree:

1. To abolish the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information and Russia's Federal Information Center.

2. To form a winding-up commission for resolving according to established procedure any questions associated with the abolition of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information.

To appoint V.F. Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, chairman of the winding-up commission, assigning to him the task of determining the commission's composition.

To effect the abolition of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information by 15 February 1994.

Expenditure associated with the abolition of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information is to be charged to funds held in its accounts.

3. To form a winding-up commission for resolving according to established procedure any questions associated with the abolition of Russia's Federal Information Center.

To appoint V.F. Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, chairman of the winding-up commission, assigning to him the task of determining the commission's composition.

To effect the abolition of Russia's Federal Information Center by 15 February 1994.

Expenditure associated with the abolition of Russia's Federal Information Center is to be charged to funds held in its accounts and to funds of the Russian Federation republic budget.

4. To form Russia's Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting [FSTRB] as a central organ of federal power.

The following are to be the FSTRB's main tasks:

coordinating the activity of all-Russia and regional state television and radio broadcasting organizations;

promoting the provision of objective information to the Russian and international public about Russia's political, economic, social, and cultural life;

participating in the preparation of draft legislative and other normative acts in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting;

pursuing uniform state policy in solving production, technical, and financial questions, as well as questions concerning the scientific backup for and training of cadres in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting.

5. To transfer to the FSTRB the functions of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information associated with the implementation of state policy in the sphere of the activity of all-Russia and regional state television and radio broadcasting organizations and with the registration and licensing of state and nonstate television and radio broadcasting organizations.

6. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must ratify within one month the Statute of the FSTRB, its structure, its table of organization, and the procedure for financing it, and must resolve any questions concerning the organizational and technical backup for the FSTRB's activities and premises.

7. Paragraph 2 of Point 3 of the Russian Federation president's edict No. 421 of 2 April 1993 "On Guarantees for Information Stabilization in the Activities of Russia's 'Ostankino' State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company" (SOBRANIYE AKTOV PREZIDENTA I PRAVITELSTVA ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII [Collected Acts of the President and Government of the Russian Federation], 1993, No. 14, p 1180) is to be deemed to have lapsed.

8. To appoint Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev leader of the FSTRB, and Valentin Valentinovich Lazutkin first deputy leader.

9. To prescribe that the budget financing and subsidizing of all-Russia and regional state television and radio broadcasting companies will be effected through the FSTRB.

10. To extend to the FSTRB leader and his deputies the conditions of material and social provisions and medical services instituted for Russian Federation ministers and deputy ministers respectively.

11. To prescribe that the State Archive of Television and Radio Programs is an institution subordinate to the FSTRB and is not available for privatization.

The FSTRB must approve the Statute of the State Archive of Television and Radio Programs.

12. To form a Russian Federation State Committee for the Press as a central organ of federal executive power.

To designate the Russian Federation State Committee for the Press as the legal successor of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information and Russia's Federal Information Center.

13. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must ratify within one month the Statute of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Press, its structure, its table of organization, and the procedure for financing it, and must resolve any questions concerning the organizational and technical backup for its activity.

14. To appoint Boris Sergeyevich Mironov chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Press.

15. To prescribe that the budget financing and subsidizing of press mass media will be effected through the Russian Federation State Committee for the Press.

16. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must within one month bring any normative acts in line with this edict.

17. The Russian Federation President's State-Legal Administration must submit proposals on the introduction of amendments to decisions by the Russian Federation president in connection with this edict's coming into force.

18. This edict comes into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993

Further Reaction to Yeltsin Edict on Media Organs

Consequences Viewed

MK2412115093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[Mikhail Shapiro report: "Reform of Mass Media Supervision System. Journalists Left Without Poltoranin's and Shumeyko's Patronage"]

[Text] Despite journalists' fears that the authorities are intent on establishing monopolistic control over the mass media by merging the Federal Information Center [FIC] and the Press Ministry, Boris Yeltsin started reorganizing the state system of information distribution in a seemingly democratic fashion. Yesterday, a package of edicts was released for official distribution on abolishing the FIC and the Press Ministry and on setting up in their stead a Committee on Television and Radio and a Committee on the Press. It is also expected that an administration on the mass media will be set up in the presidential administration.

The president has started the campaign aimed at reorganizing the system of mass media supervision by abolishing two agencies that competed with each other for influence on the mass media—the FIC under Mikhail Poltoranin and the Press and Information Ministry, which was headed after the October events by Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko. Time and again, reports came from Mr. Shumeyko's entourage about a draft presidential edict calling for the two agencies to be merged under the aegis of the Press Ministry. Mr. Poltoranin did not have doubts as to the two structures' merger, either, but with the FIC on top.

Boris Yeltsin, however, decided not to give preference to either of his allies. As a result, Mr. Poltoranin resigned from the post of FIC head in order to concentrate completely on work at the State Duma, and Mr. Shumeyko has lost his ministerial portfolio, but not his hope to become Federal Assembly speaker. Presently, the functions of the defunct agencies will be divided between the Federal Service on Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Committee on the Press. The latter will be headed by Boris Mironov, former chief of the "Rossiya" publishing house, who has not formerly held any significant political posts, but who is considered the president's loyalist.

The appointment of Aleksandr Yakovlev, who will head the Federal Service on Television and Radio and the "Ostankino" company at the same time, is attributable to his firm democratic views. Since Mr. Yakovlev, like Vyacheslav Bragin, is not a professional, it is evident that he was entrusted with the functions of a political commissar. "Ostankino's" day-to-day operation will apparently be supervised directly by his first deputy, Valentin Lazutkin, who has a reputation for being a good specialist.

Although the two government agencies are presently headed by people loyal to Boris Yeltsin, he does not appear to be willing to give up direct control over the press and television. Apparently, it is for this purpose that an administration for the mass media will be set up in the presidential administration.

Commentary

Relations between the authorities and the mass media have become fairly traumatic following the Union's breakup. On the one hand, the top echelons proclaimed the freedom of speech, on the other they clearly did not want to give up their control over the press and television. Most graphically, this contradiction has manifested itself in the most powerful propaganda machine—television. Recently, claims that ostensibly democratic Ostankino chiefs have been exerting political pressure on journalists' creative activity have become louder and louder. A number of independent television companies have made repeated statements on the subject, pointing to Vyacheslav Bragin's political commitments. However, there has been no official reaction from the Kremlin to all these statements: Vyacheslav Bragin had always been seen as the ideal figure to head "Ostankino," because he has unfailingly followed the president's political course even if that did not square with common sense. This went on until the results of the parliamentary elections were made public.

Paradoxically, Vyacheslav Bragin in fact paid with his post for other people's political mistakes, not his own incompetence: He was obliged under the presidential edict on ensuring information guarantees for the electoral campaign to give candidates as much air time as they could buy. Finally, they say that the showing of a documentary about the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's leader literally several hours before the elections was prompted by pressure from politicians who expected thus to dent Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's approval rating.

Poltoranin Seen as Loser

MK2412120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Ivan Pavlovich report under the "Television" rubric: "Gosteleradio Coming Back. Mikhail Poltoranin Seems To Have Lost it All"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's edict "On Perfecting of State Control in the Sphere of Mass Information" was published yesterday. The Ministry of Press, whose closure in favor of the Federal Information Center was wanted by its head, has been eliminated but not for him. Scrapped together with the ministry has also been the unsinkable Federal Information Center, which several congresses of people's deputies tried to destroy but could not, even with support from the Constitutional Court. Mr. Poltoranin has lost apparently all along the line: Vladimir Shumeyko, appointed press minister after October, temporarily has been named head of the liquidation commissions for both institutions. Thus Mr. Shumeyko seems to have surpassed Mikhail Nikiforovich in the art of navigating the Kremlin.

According to the law of conservation of the state apparatus, the two scrapped structures have been replaced by two again: A Federal Service of Russia for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and a Committee for the Press. According to some information, there will soon be created an Administration for the Mass Media in the president's administration, but Mikhail Poltoranin will not have to fight for it: He is already preparing for vigorous deputy activities which under the Constitution cannot be combined with any paid positions save ministerial.

Aleksandr Yakovlev has been appointed, in ministerial status, to govern state television and radio broadcasting, as well as to promote "objective provision of information to the Russian and international public about the political, economic, and sociocultural life of Russia." Valentin Lazutkin has been confirmed as his deputy, which goes to show that the edict by "President Rutskoy" appointing Lazutkin instead of Vyacheslav Bragin did not hurt Lazutkin after all. Boris Mironov, former director of the "Rossiya" publishers, was assigned to take charge of the Committee for the Press, but this, however, does not give him a ministerial portfolio.

Valentin Lazutkin becomes in addition chairman of the board of directors of a holding company "Russian Radio Technical Center 'Efir'" to be established under another edict on the basis of the Television Technical Center [TTC]. Thus "Ostankino," whose chairman Mr. Yakovlev becomes simultaneously, finally gets the TTC it has been wanting for so long.

Yet another testimony of Mikhail Poltoranin's final defeat is the following presidential edict: "On the Running of Frequency Channel Eight." TV channel eight is being after all turned over to the NTV [Independent Television Company], which entitles it to 58 broadcasting hours a week as of early next year. Poltoranin, the chief fighter for state TV, has to give up in this case.

Baturin: Edict Increases State Control

LD2712150393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1250 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Dec—The edict on the further improvement of state management in the sphere of the mass media published on 22 December "is increasing the control of the state over the mass media and to a certain degree is threatening the freedom of the press," Yuriy Baturin, aide to the Russian president, said in an interview given to an ITAR-TASS observer. Yuriy Baturin said that the "document was drawn up by the government with help from the Ministry for the Press and the Federal Information Center (FIC)."

According to the edict, the functions of the Ministry for the Press and the FIC relating to the electronic mass media have been transferred to the federal television and radio service headed by academician Aleksandr Yakovlev. The functions relating to the press and publishing have been transferred to the Russian Federation committee for the press headed by Boris Mironov. Yuriy Baturin said that "this committee has become a federal executive body and the federal television and radio service the central body of the federal authorities. The issue of its subordination to one or another branch of power has been left open. This envisages that the sphere of the activities of the federal television and radio service will be improved and developed."

The president's aide considers that the need to improve the operation of the mass media is not the sole reason behind the reorganization. He pointed out that "we should not close our eyes to the fact that this reform is also the result of the struggle between the minister for the press and the FIC, including the struggle between their leaders. This is the case when in politics the subjective and personal factor has come in to play."

Arguing his view on the state's tightening its control over the mass media, Baturin recalled the case of the status of the Russian "Efir" television and radio technical center which, according to the edict, establishes a state monopoly on the broadcasting of all the central television channels. Almost the same kind of mechanism of control over the press has also been laid down in the structure of the committee for the press, which will be in charge of subsidies to publishing organizations. He underlined that "the subsidizing of the mass media out of the budget is in a way state regulation of their activities".

Yuriy Baturin did not exclude the possibility that the unexpected may await the press once the parliament has begun work, since the edict on the mass media "isn't law yet." The State Duma will most probably begin to draw up a package of laws on television and radio broadcasting, since over the past few years the electronic media have been a "bone of contention" between the executive and legislative authorities.

In the legal expert's opinion, "it is practically impossible to find a 'right' solution to the question of the independent status of the mass media in a 'wrong' economic and political situation: publications will not survive without material tutelage by the state and sharp political polarization forces the authorities to control the press." Asked why he did not try to defend the freedom of the press, Baturin said "he saw the edict just 15 minutes before it was signed by the president and it would have taken many days to introduce a new ideology into it."

Yakovlev Outlines Aims as New Broadcasting Chief

PM2412150593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Simanovich; date and place not given: "Architect of Perestroyka Has To Restructure Television: Aleksandr Yakovlev Regarding His Appointment as Head of Ostankino"]

[Text] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev has been appointed leader of Russia's Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Service and will at the same time carry out the duties of chairman of the Russian State Television and Radio Company (Ostankino), replacing Vyacheslav Bragin in that post.

[Simanovich] How unexpected was the president's offer to you?

[Yakovlev] It was completely unexpected.

[Simanovich] You can easily guess the accusation the president's opponents will level against him: You have never had any professional connection with television, after all.

[Yakovlev] Yes, if, of course, you discount my being in charge of the radio and television sector in a CPSU Central Committee department during the time when Mayak and Krugozor appeared and when Ostankino was actually being put together. I know the complex—its premises and its services—quite well. I do, of course, have a lot to learn and find out about the structure of present-day Ostankino, feeling my way, as it were, through the mechanisms that make this complex machine turn.

[Simanovich] To what extent do you intend to influence the subject matter, the nature, and the artistic standards of Ostankino's programs?

[Yakovlev] I see my task as strategic, as remote from such specific surveillance of television programs.

[Simanovich] But you do have your own fully formed and firm likes and dislikes. To what extent will they affect the broadcasting policy of the state channels?

[Yakovlev] My main party allegiance, the focus of my sympathies, is democratic reform in Russia. That's where my hopes are pinned, that's where my guidelines are to be found. The reforms have high motive power, their progress is dramatic and complex. The Fourth Estate must attend keenly to the pulse of the times and put it across. May God enable us to meet this task without succumbing to extremes and maintaining the democrat's fine set of ideas and a feeling for the dynamics of democratic renewal.

[Simanovich] What gives you most concern at this initial stage of your new job?

[Yakovlev] I still have a lot to get to grips with. But, according to the information available, the problem of corruption on television, which is bound up with multibillion advertising commissions, is one of the biggest. The state of the equipment used by state television today is such that modernization is essential, that is to say, urgent government assistance is called for. I have already had encouraging preliminary talks on this matter.

[Simanovich] Your new post is an onerous one in both physical and psychological terms. A question about how you will manage this at your age won't offend, I hope?

[Yakovlev] It won't. I know how much energy will be required. I hope I will have enough. Age is far from always a reliable criterion. I have known 30-year-olds in important posts who have shown passivity and apathy more characteristic of an 80-year-old. Age is not the point...

Yeltsin Issues Edict on RIA Charter, Funding

LD2512180493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1605 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree regarding the Russian Information Agency Novosti (RIA).

According to the decree, head of the state has commissioned:

—The government to confirm the charter of the RIA Novosti "as a state information-analytical agency in the form of a state enterprise." "To solve the issues on material-technical support of the RIA Novosti and social security of the agency's working staff within a month."

—Ministries, state committees and departments of the Russian Federation "to grant priority to official materials and documents forwarded to the RIA Novosti which are to be distributed by mass media;"

—Russia's Finance Ministry "to foresee financing of the RIA Novosti in a separate article of the RF [Russian

Federation] republican budget beginning with 1994, including expenses for the development of its material-technical basis, capital construction, implementation of difficult tasks facing the working staff, and other needs related to the maintenance of the correspondent net, payment for communication services, and information servicing of the Russian President's Administration, RF Federal Assembly, Council of Ministers, Russian government, and other central bodies of federal executive power;"

—State Property Committee "to assign all buildings and facilities situated on the territory of the Russian Federation and abroad to the RIA Novosti (which are now on its balance sheet), to ensure security of buildings and facilities rented by the RIA Novosti belonging to the federal property;"

—"Since 1994 to free the RIA Novosti from payments of customs tariffs for materials and technological equipment exported from Russia's territory to ensure information activity of the agency's information centers, correspondent offices and bureaus situated abroad." "To free the RIA Novosti from VAT and customs tariffs payments for materials and technological equipment intended for collection, processing, and transfer of information which are procured at the expense of the RF republican budget or at the expense of the agency itself and are imported to the customs territory of the Russian Federation by this agency;"

—The Cabinet's currency-economic commission "within a month to consider the issue to free the RIA Novosti from obligatory sale of part of the currency profit in 1994 which it receives from distribution of information and services and to present appropriate proposals to the Russian president;"

—Russia's transportation ministry "to ensure passage of foreign experts working on contracts with the RIA Novosti throughout the territory of the Russian Federation on the basis of free of currency exchange and transportation of cargo under provision that expenditures are compensated according to tariffs which are in force for Russian citizens;"

— Russia's Communications Ministry "to grant special permits (licences) to the RIA Novosti in the sphere of communication;"

—Russia's Foreign Ministry "to provide the RIA Novosti with visa support and official passports for all working staff including those working abroad;"

—Russia's Interior Ministry "to include the RIA Novosti into the list of special purpose facilities since January 1, 1994."

The president has allowed:

—To the chairman of the RIA Novosti's board "to have five deputies, including one first deputy who is appointed by the Council of Ministers - Government of the Russian Federation;"

—"To spread the conditions of social security and medical servicing established for leading employees of the RF ministries onto the chairman and board's members of the RIA Novosti;"

—To collect payments from the RIA Novosti and offices subordinate to it in rubles for all kinds of services granted by communications ministry according to regulated state prices and tariffs fixed for budget organizations.

The president has also signed a decree on measures providing for state support to organize production of the VAZ-2110 cars of new generation by the joint stock company AvtoVaz."

The document approves AvtoVAZ's proposal to organize production of new VAZ-2110 cars in 19994-1996 and to produce 220,000 cars annually.

The Russian government has been set to foresee "budget allocations for the joint stock company AvtoVaz from 1991-1996 which are equal to the paid import tariffs for the procured raw materials, components, and equipment which should be returned to the state budget in 1997-2000 with a corresponding indexation of the ruble's exchange rate."

The decree stipulates that excise for VAZ cars is to be 10% since January 1, 1994.

Paper Publishes Edict on NTV TV Company

PM2412140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Presidential Edict No. 2250, signed by President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993: "On Utilizing Moscow Television's Eighth Frequency Channel and Its Dissemination Network"]

[Text] With a view to improving the quality of television broadcasting and devloping nonstate television in Russia, I decree:

1. To adopt the proposal by the NTV [Independent Television] Television Company to begin in 1994, by way of an experiment, transmissions of NTV Television Company programs on Moscow's eighth frequency television channel.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must examine the question of the state's participation as founder of the NTV Television Company.

2. The Russian Federation Ministry of Communications must ensure the transmission of NTV Television Company programs on Moscow's eighth frequency television channel, maintaining the network and terms of its dissemination.

3. Russia's Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Russian Federation Ministry of

Communications must, within one month and in line with Russian Federation legislation:

—examine according to established procedure the question of terms for granting the NTV Television Company licenses for broadcasting and for communciations operations in the television broadcasting sphere;

—resolve the question of assigning Moscow's eighth frequency television channel and its dissemination network to the NTV Television Company (from 1800 hours until closedown daily, with a total of 58 hours of broadcasting per week); it must take into account the agreement between the National Sports Foundation and the NTV Television Company on allocating up to two hours of daily broadcasting for the promotion of physical culture and sports.

—resolve the question of assigning morning and daytime broadcasting time (up to 18 hours per day) on Moscow's eighth frequency television channel for transmission of "Russian Universities" television channel programs with a view to showing cultural enlightenment, educational, and popular science programs, as well as programs on the problems of entrepreneurship, land reform, privatization, conversion, the tax system, and banking and insurance activities.

4. This edict comes into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993

Yeltsin Edict on New Radio Company

PM2412133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Presidential Edict No. 2258, signed by President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993 "On Setting Up the 'Efir' Russian State Television and Radio Engineering Center Holding Company and the 'Golos Rossii' Russian State Radio Broadcasting Company"]

[Text] With a view to enhancing the standards of engineering and technical backup for Russian state and nonstate television and radio broadcasting organizations and coordinating scientific research activity in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting, I decree:

1. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must:

—incorporate the "'Efir' [Airwaves] Russian State Television and Radio Engineering Center" Holding Company (hereinafter the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company) as a joint-stock company, including in its authorized capital the shares of joint-stock companies formed on the basis of state enterprises for technical backup for the activity of Russian state television and radio broadcasting companies as listed in the Appendix;

—approve the Statute of the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company, providing for the issue of a "Gold Share" when the company's shares are issued;

—compose the leadership organs of the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company, appointing representatives of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government to the aforementioned company's Council of Directors.

It is prescribed that the first deputy leader of Russia's Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting will be ex-officio chairman of the first Council of Directors of the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company.

2. It is prescribed that workers of state enterprises being transformed into joint-stock companies on the basis of this edict's provisions and persons treated as equivalent to such workers will, in the process of privatization and in accordance with the chosen preference option, receive shares of the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company in proportion to the number of the shares of enterprises included in the holding company.

Any shares of the "Efir RSTREC" Holding Company remaining after satisfying the labor collectives' preferences must be secured as federal property for a period of three years.

3. With a view to guaranteeing radio broadcasting to foreign countries, providing coverage of the Russian Federation's political, economic, social, and cultural life, and preparing radio programs for compatriots living abroad, the "Golos Rossii" [Voice of Russia] State Radio Broadcasting Company is to be set up on the basis of the "Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company's "Mezhdunarodnoye Moskovskoye Radio" [Radio Moscow International] Creative and Production Association.

4. Russia's Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting must within one month elaborate and sumbit for ratification by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government the draft Stature of the "Golos Rossii" State Radio Broadcasting Company and proposals for its structure and table of organization, as well as for the procedure for financing the company.

5. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government must within one month bring normative acts in line with this edict.

6. The Russian Federation President's State-Legal Administration must submit proposals for introducing amendments to decisions by the Russian Federation president in connection with the signing of this edict.

7. This edict comes into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 22 December 1993

Appendix to the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 2258 of 22 December 1993

List of State Enterprises Being Transformed into Joint-Stock Companies of the "'Efir' Russian State Television and Radio Engineering Center" Holding Company:

—Television Engineering Center, Moscow, Koroleva Street No. 12

—State House of Radio Broadcasting and Audio Recording, Moscow, Kachalova Street No. 24 (together with its backup broadcasting stations in Moscow and Samara Oblasts)

—All-Russian Scientific Research Institute for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Moscow, 3d Khoroshevskaya Street No. 12

—Main Data Processing Center, Moscow, Shabolovka Street No. 37

—"Spetsavtoteleradio" Specialized Motor Vehicle Transport Enterprise, Moscow, 2d Magistralnaya Street No. 10

—Experimental Plant for Television and Radio Broadcasting Equipment, Moscow, Izmaylovskiy Val No. 2

—"Ostankino" Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company Experimental Production Unit, Moscow, 3d Khoroshevskaya Street No. 12

—Experimental Plant, Volgograd, Shkiryatova Street No. 17

—"Teleradioservis" Association, Moscow, Chermyanskiy Proyezd No. 7

—Institute for Improving the Training of Television and Radio Broadcasting Workers, Moscow, Oktyabrskaya Street No. 105, Unit No.2

Press Building Placed Under Special Police Guard

LD2412143693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamra Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—Chief of the administration of the Federation Council (upper chamber of the new legislature) ordered that since Saturday the House of the Russian Press would be guarded by special police posts.

Vladimir Podoprigora's order said it would be done in conformity with a presidential decree and in order to "guarantee security, protection of officials and safety of valuables".

For the past few weeks journalists and public organisations whose headquarters are now situated in the House of Russian Press, have been campaigning against the Yeltsin's decree insisting it was an offensive against democratic press inspired by some of the president's entourage.

They were supported by some other Russian mediamen and democratic organisations including the Russia's Choice pro-government electoral bloc.

During a press conference on Wednesday the president promised that the dispute would be settled peacefully and that the publications situated in the buidling would get new premises in downtown Moscow.

Media Union in 'Pre-Strike Situation'

MK2512094093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 2

[Andrey Nikolayev report under the "Epidemic" rubric: "The Country May End Up Without Television and Radio. It All Depends on Boris Fedorov's Prompt Action"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communications Workers Trade Union has announced in its work collectives a pre-strike situation. Trade union chairman Anatoliy Nazeykin has announced that the organizations serving television and radio have no money to pay taxes, wages, and to pay for electricity and spare parts. State-run television and radio companies today do not have the necessary funds for settlements with communications workers because they are not being adequately financed by the government.

Major radio transmitters in Kaliningrad and Petropavlovsk- Kamchatskiy have stopped work, and many other enterprises transmitting state radio and television programs are on the verge of stopping. Work collectives of radio and television transmission centers are demanding a halt to radio and television broadcasts on the entire territory of the Russian Federation until debts have been paid off by state television and radio companies.

Anatoliy Nazeykin has stated that the halting of television and radio broadcasts in big cities, to say nothing of in all Russia, may entail unpredictable consequences. "For example, left without information sources, people would simply have no chance to follow what is happening in the country, hence to see where they stand," Mr. Nazeykin said.

According to information from the trade union's Central Committee, Viktor Chernomyrdin, aware of the possible consequences, has urgently instructed Finance Minister Boris Fedorov to include payment by state radio and television companies of their debts to communications enterprises in the list of priority payments. "Therefore further actions by the collectives will depend on how promptly the minister acts on the premier's instructions," Mr. Nazeykin stated.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Stresses Independence

PM2412144793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Editorial Office"]

[Text] A meeting of our newspaper's editorial office journalists collective was held Tuesday [21 December]. It was prompted by the need to uphold our right to freedom of speech, as guaranteed by Article 29 of Russia's new Constitution, as well as to protect the editorial office's autonomy, as laid down in Article 19 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI builds its relations with its founder—the Russian Federation Government—on the basis of businesslike cooperation and strict observance of reciprocal rights and obligations, as envisaged by Articles 17 and 20 of the Law "On the Mass Media," and not on the principles of administrative subordination as it used to be under the previous regime. We perceive the newspaper as a link between government and citizens, a medium for informing them about the executive branch's activity and society's control over it. This approach, on the whole, enjoys the understanding and support of the majority of leaders and members of the Cabinet of Ministers.

At the same time, attempts to dictate to the newspaper are constantly being made from deep within the Cabinet of Ministers apparatus. Encountering the rebuff of the chief editor and the editorial collegium, individual apparatus officials have been—especially recently—resorting increasingly often to pressure, seeking compromising evidence, and meticulously scrutinizing the trivial lapses which are inevitable in the work of any major editorial office. On one of these occasions (the newspaper had published a routine official document two days earlier than prescribed), senior officials from the government apparatus raised the question of terminating the employment contract of Chief Editor V.N. Kucher, even despite the fact that no such contract exists, while the apparatus itself, let alone its individual officials, is not a representative of the newspaper's founder but is only its service personnel.

The speeches by editorial office workers at the meeting and the unanimously adopted decision perceived these actions by apparatus officials as a desire to revert to the old methods of press leadership, turning the press into an obedient executor of the will of apparatus functionaries who perceive "puppet" publications as a means for grabbing their share of power. On the basis of Point 4 of Article 9 of the Temporary Statute of the Editorial Office, which provides that the journalists collective's opinion should be taken into account when deciding the question of the newspaper's leadership, the meeting reaffirmed its confidence in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Chief Editor V.N. Kucher and deemed it necessary to send copies of its decision to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium, the Russian Journalists Union, the Moscow Journalists Union, and the Foundation for Protection of Glasnost.

The journalists collective would further like to emphasize that its objective is certainly not to protect only the chief editor and consequently their own professional interests, although, and quite naturally, a sound creative atmosphere and harmony at work are highly important. The issue concerns the preservation of the newspaper, the need to resist the stubborn attempts to change its name and amalgamate ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI with other publications, in other words to de facto destroy ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI as an autonomous and independent news medium which has succeeded in developing its own image and gaining certain public weight. Confirmation of the latter—in addition to the newspaper's pages whose quality can be judged by our readers—is provided by the trebling of our print run as a result of the subscription campaign, from 200,000 to 600,000 copies. We protect our readers' interests first and foremost. Ultimately the issue concerns the need to resist the recently growing and dangerous trend to curb the freedom of speech and turn journalists into accomplices of the new bureaucracy, which is straining to acquire power, no matter under which guise it might operate.

Chernomyrdin Appoints ITAR-TASS Deputies

LD2512172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1529 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 25 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a resolution on Saturday appointing Yuriy Poroikov, Pavel Mikhalev and Vladimir Yashchenkov as deputies of the ITAR-TASS director-general.

Poroikov has been appointed as first deputy ITAR-TASS director-general, Mikhalev and Yashchenkov as deputies.

The appointments followed a presidential decree on the Information Telegraph Agency of Russia issued earlier this week.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Issues Edict Amending 4th Quarter Budget

LD2312210593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin on December 21 signed a decree amending the national budget for the fourth quarter of 1993, his press service reported.

Yeltsin limited the fourth quarter's total expenditure to 22.2468 Tn rubles in order to keep the budget deficit for 1993 from rising above 10 percent of the gross national product.

He established the maximum budget deficit for the fourth quarter - 5.51 Tn rubles, which is to be partly closed by revenues from Russia's total 1.5001-Tn-ruble foreign loan from foreign nations.

The economy is to receive in the fourth quarter 2.9588 Tn rubles, of which 1.3683 Tn will be state subsidies.

The president has allocated 3.6285 Tn rubles for national programs, in particular 526.4 Bn to bolster the agroindustrial complex, 558.3 Bn to develop northern regions, 21.3 Bn to support farmers, 12.8 Bn to stimulate business enterprise, and 159.1 Bn to fund the conversion of defense enterprises to civilian production.

Yeltsin set the military expenditure at 4.4764 Tn rubles and the foreign economic spending at 1.3031 Tn.

The decree will be put before the new parliament.

Government Finalizes Budget

LD2712111593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0845 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 December— Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a government resolution that finalizes the figures for the Russian Federation republican budget for the 4th quarter of 1993. It orders execution of finalized republican budget expenditure for the 4th quarter of 22,246.8 billion rubles, based on finalized forecast incomes of 15,236.7 billion rubles and a limit on the budget deficit of 5,510 billion rubles.

The Finance Ministry has been instructed to ensure finance for these finalized budgetary outlays in the 4th quarter as budget revenues are received, with account taken of a 4,660-billion-ruble credit from the Central Bank and also gold sales via issue of gold certificates and other short-term debt issues to a total sum of up to 850 billion rubles.

The same resolution endorse new excise duties on vodka and spirits, ethyl spirits from edible ingredients, drinking spirits and wine produce of 90 percent of sale price. These rates will apply to products shipped from 27 December 1993.

In addition, the resolution instructs Russian Federation ministries and government agencies to submit to the government proposals for 1994 excise duties on non-alcoholic beverages, certain types of confectionery, caviar from the sturgeon and salmon family of fish, delicacies from valuable species of fish and sea products, and on household chemicals.

Edict Seen as Evidence of Stabilization

PM2712144393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Yuriy Rytov report: "All Reserves Brought Into Play"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin signed an edict 21 December clarifying the republic budget indicators for the fourth quarter of the current year. In itself this latest amendment to the budget would most probably not have attracted any special attention from observers. After all, there is little over a week to go to the end of the year. And virtually nothing needs to be altered on either the revenue or expenditure side of the budget.

But the new document is of immense interest from another standpoint—as a declaration of the president's intent and as an indication of his position for the coming year.

There is no need to show just how important this now is. The course of stabilizing our finances has been officially approved in all government programs. These, in particular, envisage cutting the inflation rate to 5 percent a month by the end of next year and reducing the republic budget deficit correspondingly. But, as is well known, this policy came in for fierce criticism during the election campaign from all blocs and parties with the exception of "Russia's Choice."

Moreover, there is even a wing in the government itself which permanently demands additional financing for a number of enterprises and sectors—somthing that would, naturally, punch more and more holes in the budget.

The extent to which the situation has deteriorated is shown by the mere fact that during the visit to Paris by Vice Premier Boris Fedorov, the Russian Federation finance minister, there were widespread rumors here about his possible resignation. Boris Fedorov was forced to issue an official statement to the effect that the rumors were groundless. At the same time, he stressed that if the government's economic policy were altered, he would reserve the right to leave the Cabinet of Ministers. But he expressed confidence that Russian President Boris Yeltsin would stick to the course pursued by the government for the past two years and continue it.

Well, the president's edict, which we are discussing today, wholly bears out this confidence.

Just what do the amendments to the budget boil down to?

I would remind readers of the main figures contained in the draft budget prepared by the Finance Ministry. The budget deficit in the fourth quarter was set at 5.5 trillion rubles [R], and at R17 trillion for the year as a whole—equivalent to 10 percent of GDP [as published]. The expenditure side of the budget in the fourth quarter should come to R20,949.5 billion.

The president's edict contains a different expenditure figure—R22,246.8 billion. Expenditure has thus been increased by almost R1.3 trillion.

What has brought this about? First, the increases in pay scales and remuneration to budget-sector workers in December. Second, the major budget investment in certain sectors of the economy. (For instance, R220 billion has been allocated to the coal industry, R120 billion to power structures, and so forth).

Readers might well ask whether the increased spending would inevitably alter all the other budget indicators.

No, this has not happened. All its key indicators remain as they were before. The maximum deficit for the year is no more than 10 percent of GNP [as published]. And the fourth-quarter deficit is R5,510 billion (in other words, it has been increased by just R10 billion).

Just how has this been achieved? The last reserves which we have available have been brought into play. The edict envisages that the deficit has been set with a view to partly covering it using income from the R1.5 trillion in foreign loans granted to the Russian Federation.

Thus, the president has reaffirmed yet again his adherence to the course of stabilizing our finances.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on State Expenditure in 1994

LD2412232793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1934 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed an edict on financing state expenditure from the Russian Federation republican budget during the first quarter of 1994, the Russian president's press service announced today. The text follows:

Edict of the President of the Russian Federation on Financing of State Expenditure from the Russian Federation Republican Budget During the 1st Quarter of 1994

With the aim of ensuring uninterrupted financing of state expenditure from the Russian Federation republican budget until adoption of the Russian law "On the Russian Federation Budget for 1994" and pursuant to clauses 2 and 3 of Russian presidential edict number 1598 dated 7 October 1993 "On legal regulation during the period of phased constitutional reform in Russia," I resolve:

1. To permit the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation during the first quarter of 1994 to finance state programs and actions on the basis of expenditure established by Russian presidential edict number 2234 dated 21 December 1993 "On finalization of the contents of Russian budget for the fourth quarter of 1993," with account taken of the increase in the minimum wage of 1.9 times from 1 December 1993 pursuant to Russian presidential edict number 2115 dated 5 December 1993.

2. To remit to the budgets of constituent parts of the Russian Federation during the first quarter of 1994 part of revenues from excise duties and value-added tax in the amount established by clause 4 of the Russian law "On the Russian budget for 1993."

3. That the Russian Central Bank shall, during the first quarter of 1994, extend to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation a credit in the amount of 7.5 trilion rubles for the financing of expenditure from the Russian Federation republican budget, to include on a repayable basis 300 billion rubles for financing of programs for conversion of military industry and 400 billion rubles for financing of investment programs, for a term of 10 years to be paid off in equal instalments beginning in 1998 at an annual interest rate of 10 percent.

4. That the Russian Finance Ministry shall: ensure financing of expenditure from the Russian Federation republican budget during the first quarter of 1994 as per budget revenues with account taken of incoming credit from the Russian Central Bank; during the first quarter of 1994 and with the aim of equalization of social welfare provision remit from the Russian Federation republican budget to the budgets of constituent parts of the Russian Federation subsidies and subventions in the amounts envisaged for such purposes during the fourth quarter of 1993 and adjusted in line with the increase in the minimum wage from 1 December 1993 pursuant to Russian presidential edict number 2115 dated 5 December 1993 and in line with the extent of indebtedness that the Russian Federation republican budget accumulated in such expenditure in the course of 1993.

5. To permit the Russian Finance Ministry, beginning in January 1994, to begin paying interest to the Russian Central Bank at 10 percent annually, in alteration of the terms of a long-term credit extended pursuant to clause 1 of the Russian Supreme Soviet Resolution number 3125-1 dated 26 June 1992 "On a long-term credit to the Finance Ministry" and pursuant to clause 8 of the Supreme Soviet resolution as law of the Russian Federation "On finalization of the Russian Federation republican budget for 1992."

6. To instruct the Russian Finance Ministry, jointly with the Russian Pension Fund and with account taken of the results of execution of the Pension Fund's 1993 budget, to examine the question of prolonging in force for the duration of the first quarter of 1994 article 7 of the Russian Law "On the Russian Federation republican budget for 1993."

7. To submit this edict for consideration by the Russian Federal Assembly.

8. That this edict shall enter into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] Russian President B. Yeltsin

Yeltsin Signs Decrees on Oil, Housing, Other Topics

Decree on Support to Oil Industry

LD2412092193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0816 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on state support to the Russian oil industry, the presidential press service reports.

The Central Bank of the Russian Federation was instructed to defer up to July 1, 1994, the repayment of credits, amounting to 50 billion roubles, which were granted in December 1992 and in 1993 to enterprises of the fuel and energy complex. This is to be done at the expense of centralised credit resources and according to the fixed procedure and repayment schedules.

The present procedure for forming and using extra-budget financial regulation funds, in force this year, shall remain valid for enterprises of the oil industry, irrespective of their form of property, until the approval of the Russian budget for 1994.

The presidential decree of March 19, 1993, exempting oil- and gas-extracting, prospecting and refining enterprises of the compulsory sale of their hard currency revenues earned from the sale of petroleum, gas condensate and their derivatives, shall be extended to 1994.

Grain Market Liberalized

LD2512012093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2142 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] [no dateline given] President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation signed an edict on liberalization of the grain market in Russia today.

We are transmitting the text of this in full.

OFFICIAL DECREE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE GRAIN MARKET IN RUSSIA

With the aim of developing the grain market in the Russian Federation I RESOLVE:

1. A federal stock of grain and oilseeds is to be set up in 1994, taking account of the requirements of the state reserves and short-term reserves, of military consumers and categories of consumers of equal standing.

The Council of Ministers - Government of the Russian Federation is to determine the size of the aforementioned federal stock, and also its consumers, by 1 January 1994.

2. State procurements of grain and oilseeds for the federal stock in 1994 will be made by the "Roskhlebprodukt" joint-stock company using funds from the republican budget of the Russian Federation.

3. Component parts [subyekty] of the Russian Federation independently satisfy their own requirements of grain and processed grain products. To this end, they can form regional grain stocks, depending upon the requirements they identify and the possibilities for financing procurements of grain for the aforementioned stocks using funds from the appropriate budgets.

4. Procurements of grain and oilseeds for the federal and regional stocks are made at market prices; republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomies, rayons and rural commodity producers are set no obligatory targets for sales of this produce to the aforementioned stocks.

5. Any decisions by bodies of executive and representative authority of the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomies and the cities of Moscow and St Petersburg which ban or restrict the free transference of grain, oilseeds and products processed from these, and also which prevent trading operations involving these commodities shall be considered invalid, with the exception of cases provided for by legislation of the Russian Federation.

In the event of the bodies of executive and representative authority of the republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, autonomies and the cities of Moscow and St Petersburg invoking the aforementioned bans and restrictions, the Council of Ministers - Government of the Russian Federation shall be granted the right to take the following measures:

—to cease rendering all forms of federal support to agricultural enterprises situated on the territories of the relevant subjects of the Russian Federation;

—to halt dispatch of foodstuffs and agricultural produce from federal stocks.

6. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property is by 1 April 1994 to turn into joint-stock companies all state-owned enterprises for the procurement, primary processing and storage of grain and production of grain products.

7. The appended list of enterprises dealing in grain products is to be ratified; when these are privatized, 51 percent of the shares of joint-stock companies shall be in federal ownership for a period of three years.

The packages of shares of enterprises dealing in grain products which under plans for privatization shall be in federal ownership and which are not included in the aforementioned list, are subject to sale according to the established procedure.

Enterprises dealing in grain products which have stable direct links with agricultural commodity producers are to be turned into joint-stock companies, according to the first or third option whereby concessions on sales at open privatization voucher auctions of all remaining shares are granted to agricultural commodity producers and citizens resident in the rural locality of the zone served by the enterprise being privatized.

The aforementioned enterprises are classed in the appropriate categories by the Russian Federation State Committee for Management of State Property, in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Agriculture and the "Roskhlebprodukt" joint-stock company.

8. The Russian Federation State Committee for Management of State property is to introduce the amendments

consequent upon the present edict into the "Roskhlebproduct" joint-stock company rules, having provided for the issue of a "Gold share" and an increase in the authorized capital.

9. The Council of Ministers - Government of the Russian Federation is within one month:

—to endorse the Provision on a federal grain stock;

—to decide in conjunction with the "Roskhlebprodukt" joint-stock company the issue of reciprocal obligations in 1994 regarding procurements, storage, processing and delivery to consumers of grain and oilseeds from the federal stock;

—to consider the issue of transferring teaching establishments training specialists for enterprises dealing in grain products, and the relevant scientific and research and planning institutes, to the jurisdiction of ministries and government departments of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Academy of Sciences and the Russian Federation Academy of Agricultural Sciences;

—to establish a procedure for building enterprises dealing in grain products financed from the republican budget of the Russian Federation.

10. The "Roskhlebprodukt" joint-stock company is to ensure that all obligations taken on previously in respect of suppliers and the republican budget of the Russian Federation are met.

11. Point Six and Paragraph Three of Point Seven of the edict of the president of the Russian Federation of 7 August 1992 No 826 "On Measures To Set Up a Federal Contract System" are to be invalidated in regard to the "Roskhlebproduct joint-stock company.

12. The present edict comes in to force as of its signing.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin 24 December 1993, No 2280.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Privatization

LD2412235793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2021 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 December (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed an edict on the state program for privatization of state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation. ITAR-TASS was told by the president's press service that the program being adopted is intended to deepen economic reform and ensure a stable legal basis for a unified market for items under privatization in the Russian Federation.

The government has been instructed to prepare by 25 January 1994 the appropriate amendments and additions for insertion into legislation on taxation, and also a register of shareholders companies and to publish it. By 1 March 1994, the Russian Federation Government should draw up statutory instruments to ensure implementation of the program and also relevant legislation.

The State Property Committee jointly with the State Committee for Architecture and Construction and the Ministry of Culture are to draw up a sample preservation agreement to be concluded on privatization of nonresidential premises in buildings that are landmarks of history and culture.

The edict declares no longer in force the following rulings by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet intended to end the process of privatization: the resolution of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet dated 30 March 1992 "On Succession by the Russian Federal Property Fund to Part of the Property of State Structures of the former USSR" and subclause "a" of clause 1 of the Resolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet dated 21 July 1993 "On Amendments and Additions to the Resolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet dated 27 December 1991 "On Differentiation of State Property in the Russian Federation into Federal Property, State Property of Republics within the Russian Federation, of Krays, Oblasts, Autonomous Oblasts, Autonomous Okrugs, the Cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and Municipal Property."

Bodies of state power and government of republics, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are obliged to bring local privatization programs into compliance with the State Privatization Program within two months from the date of its publication. The state program for privatization of state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation will be published.

The edict is to be submitted for consideration by the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and shall enter into force from the moment it is published.

Introduces Investments in Housing

LD2412213193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on developing and introducing nonbudgetary forms of investment in the housing sphere. The document instructs the government, together with the Central Bank and the Russian Saving Bank, to draw up and approve in three months provisions for housing credits. The decree sets up a federal agency to provide house mortgages. It is being recommended to local authorities to set up foundations for developing the housing construction. The document fixes free subsidies to build or buy houses for citizens who need to improve their living conditions.

Amends Customs Tariffs

LD2412234593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1930 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Edict issued by President Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin on 24 December]

[Text] EDICT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Recognizing as no longer in force decisions by the president of the Russian Federation in connection with adoption of the Law of the Russian Federation "On the Customs Tariff" and with the aim of bringing order to customs and tariff regulation of the foreign-economic ties of the Russian Federation, I hereby resolve:

1. That the Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation—shall no later than 1 January 1994 endorse the levels of customs duty levied on goods being imported into the customs zone of the Russian Federation.

2. To recognize as no longer in force paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of Clause 3 of the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation No 629 dated 14 June 1992 "On Partial Alteration of the Procedure for Mandatory Sale of Party of Foreign-Currency Revenues and Levying of Export Duties" (Gazettes of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and of the Supreme Soviet of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, 1992, No 25 page 1,425) and clauses 1, 2, and 4 of Edict of the President of the Russian Federation No 340 dated 15 March 1993 "On the Import Customs Tariff of the Russian Federation" (Collection of Acts of the President and Government of the Russian Federation, 1993, No 12 page 9,921) from the moment of entry into force of the import customs duties mentioned in clause 1 of this edict.

3. That this edict shall enter into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 24 December 1993

Yeltsin Signs Auditing Edict

LD2412001493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on auditing. The presidential press office said the step was caused by the need to immediately define legal principles of auditing as an independent financial control.

The decree sets temporary rules of auditing in the Russian Federation which came into force once signed and will be valid until the new parliament produces a law on the issue. State bodies and the Central Bank are to bring their legislative acts in line with the temporary rules within a month.

All individuals rendering auditing services are obliged to go through an attestation until October 1 1994 to confirm their right to practice this kind of business. Corportions (auditing companies) and independent auditors are to be granted an auditing license until January 1 1995, according to the rules.

To improve the state management of auditing in Russia, the decree sets up a special commission for auditing under the Russian president.

Central Bank: Hard Currency Trade To Be Banned 1 Jan

LD2312142493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1401 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—The Central Bank confirmed on Thursday [23 December] that trade for hard currency will be banned in Russia as planned, from January 1, 1994.

All goods will be sold only for rubles or paid by credit cards, while exchange offices will continue selling and buying dollars and other hard currency.

"This is a normal civilised practice used in every country", Spokesman of the Central Bank Aleksey Sitnin told TASS, adding that it would strengthen the ruble and help curtail numerous embezzlements in hard currency circulation.

"Any trade for hard currency is illegal and this should be known both by the seller and the buyer, they should know about their liability", Sitnin said.

All licences for hard currency trade are automatically canceled on January 1.

Sitnin added that no changes are envisaged for banks and their exchange offices.

Gerashchenko on Tasks of Russian Central Bank

LD2412204493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Petrenko]

[Text] Moscow December 24 TASS—A reason for the inflation is loss of control over the economy and not the monetary policy. The loss of control results in inflation production costs, Russian Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko told a news conference on bank 1993 results here today.

In his words, the main payment problem has been settled; payments are increasingly normalized and their delays are no longer caused by the banking system. A fixed period of document processing was introduced late this year. According to Gerashchenko, new communications systems and normal functioning of mail will solve the problem in 1994.

An important aspect of bank activities is the Russian introduction of the national currency unit. At the same time, the bank chairman regretted over unsuccessful negotiations with possible candidates for members of the new type rouble zone due to differences in economic approaches. It is not excluded "within a year or two we will understand that both single economic space and striving to harmonize common economic policy in progress towards the market are important," he said.

Gerashchenko commented on the Commonwealth Interstate Bank, whose chairman he has been elected. In his opinion, the bank could first become a clearing chamber for partners and then a credit to institution to use primarily russian finances.

Speaking of Central Bank prospects, the chairman said it will continue close cooperation with the government. It will also prepare a number of proposals to boost investment activities and stop production recession.

Gerashchenko Seeks To Adjust Reforms

MK2512120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Yelena Kolokoltseva report in the "Finances" column: "Viktor Gerashchenko Is Generally Satisfied With 1993 Results But Would Like To Adjust the Reform Course"]

[Text] At a press conference yesterday at 12 Neglinnaya Street, Viktor Gerashchenko told the Russian Central Bank [RCB] Board and journalists about the interim results of the RCB's performance in 1993. "We are generally satisfied with the 1993 results," the RCB chairman said. First, not only was a steady exchange rate maintained, but hard currency reserves were also increased: As of 21 December 1993 they constituted $4.4 billion. The gradual introduction of tough currency controls of import and export of strategic goods may, in Mr. Gerashchenko's opinion, lead to a "total rubleization" of the Russian currency market beginning in 1994: All hard currency proceeds will be sold for rubles. Viktor Gerashchenko also believes that in 1993 the RCB generally managed to ensure normal payments processing. "This problem still exists," he noted, "but it is no longer related to the inadequate work of RCB encashment and settlement centers." The RCB chairman's plans for 1994 include maintenance of the strategic course toward consolidating the RCB major regional branches and sustaining an effective system to control the financial activity of commercial banks.

Mr. Gerashchenko also said that next year "we are planning to maintain good and productive contacts with the government." Recalling a memorandum sent to the IMF in May, he noted, however, that although coordination of actions by the Russian Federation Government and the RCB led to a certain fall in inflation, the program worked out by the Finance Ministry in consultation with the IMF nonetheless has not produced any substantial results. This, in Mr. Gerashchenko's opinion, is related to the fact that inflation in Russia is not of a monetary but of a structural character. Therefore cooperation with the IMF should be "reasonable, not mechanical." In the RCB chairman's opinion, the preliminary results of the 12 December elections have shown that the reform process is protracted and painful. "People have voted not for, but against. Therefore both the government and the new parliament will apparently have to adjust the reform course somewhat," Russia's chief banker stated.

Customs Currency Control Introduced

LD2312211193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1632 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 23 TASS—Currency control of exports of strategic raw materials by customs bodies effective as of January 1, 1994 will be based on the existing technology of customs-banking control, including computer and telecommunications networks, Andrey Kutepov, head of the Customs Committee Currency Control Department, told a briefing held at the Russian State Customs Committee in Moscow on Thursday.

According to the regulations defining the procedure for carrying out currency control which has been adopted by the Customs Committee and the Central Bank of Russia, of special importance will become deal passports, a document enabling an exporter to deal only with an authorised bank. The passport will have to be produced for every consignment of goods, which, as the regulations' authors believe, will increase the responsibility of customs officers. The passport combined with a customs declaration and a document confirming the opening of a hard currency bank account will help carry out control over the hard currency revenues from exports.

Kutepov described the Customs Committee's readiness for taking on new functions as satisfactory, adding that the majority of exporters have decided to wait and see. He noted that the Customs Committee is the only administrative body which has information about goods movement. Beginning January 1, 1994 it will also possess information about the movement of funds kept on bank accounts. Out of 630 authorised banks 250 have telecommunications links with the Customs Committee. They are linked together by a SWIFT-based computerised communications network which comprises 70 bank networks. Its total cost is 70 million roubles.

Apart from exercising currency control, the system can also provide a basis for building a global bank information network. The system will also help create data banks, trace goods and articles, carry out customs payments and control hard currency operations conducted by individuals and enterprises.

According to the Customs Committee, Russia's total exports in 1992 amounted to 46 billion U.S. dollars, while the number of export/import operations reached 1.5 million. Kutepov believes that the introduction of administrative control system has been hampered by the inadequacies of the law on hard currency regulation and currency control which lays controlling functions on the government and the Central Bank. The law also failed to provide for the establishment of the system of administrative control.

Kutepov stressed that the law on hard currency control enables the Customs Committee to control both resident exporters and non-resident ones, as well as hard currency and rouble revenues. He admitted, however, that the mechanism of control of rouble export revenues has yet to be finalised.

New Rules Aim To Stem Foreign Trade Earnings Losses

PM2412100793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Golyayev report: "Damming the Currency River"]

[Text] Russian Federation customs organs are introducing currency controls on the country's territory as of 1 January 1994.

This means that when strategically important raw material goods are being exported, exporters must comply with certain demands made on them by the corresponding instructions. These have been drawn up and adopted by the State Customs Committee in conjunction with the Central Bank of Russia. If the instructions' demands are not complied with, the customs will not give the "green light" to the release of the goods. Incidentally, as of 1 March this rule will also apply to other goods.

How serious is this barrier? After all, it is no secret that billions in export earnings in foreign currency are "out of the country"—a figure of $15-20 billion out of exports worth $46 billion has been mentioned. That is no laughing matter.

According to specialists from the State Customs Committee, a huge amount of work has been done. The technology of customs and banking control is based on the use of computers and modern network technologies, which make it possible to set up a global information network for the country's banking institutions. Almost everyone involved in foreign economic activity, along with bank officials have been notified of the instructions' provisions and had them explained to them.

At the same time, the State Customs Committee has no illusions that the most scrupulous implementation of the instructions with the help of modern machines will solve all the problems of foreign exchange controls. This is only the beginning of the job.

But that is by the by. One way or another, an attempt is being made to turn off the "foreign exchange tap" through which Russian money is draining away.

Power Stations Continue To Suffer Fuel Shortages

LD2312223893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Reserves and deliveries of fuel to Russian electric power stations "still remain on a very low level." This was the conclusion voiced by participants of a session of an inter- departmental working group to provide national economy with fuel and electric power and heat energy held on Wednesday in Moscow.

The press service of Russia's Fuel and Energy Ministry reported that the session established that as of December 22 reserves of mazut constituted 2.8 Mn tons, coal—17.9 Mn tons (correspondingly 3.4 and 23.5 Mn tons last year), at the same time spending of these kinds of fuel every 24 hours greatly exceeds level of the last year.

Despite the undertaken measures, schedules of fuel deliveries are not observed, several electric power stations are forced to work "receiving fuel directly from the trains." Several power stations in Khabarovsk, Biysk, Magadan, and Arkhangelsk work practically without any reserves, the Samara oil processing factories disrupt deliveries of mazut for North Caucasus' and Kamchatka's energy systems.

The session criticized several companies preoccupied with fuel deliveries. However, the latter pointed out that these power stations have already great debts amounting to tens and hundreds billion of rubles. The inter-departmental group addressed leaders of local power bodies with a request to assist these power stations in compensation of their debts.

Miners Union Denies Being in 'Government's Pocket'

PM2312160393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Rybakov report: "Is the Russian Coal Miners Union Declaring War on the Russian Independent Miners Union. The Struggle for Influence Over the Government Between the Russian Coal Miners Union and the Russian Independent Miners Union Has Become More Acute"]

[Text] "The Russian Independent Miners Union [RIMU] is an organization which the government created artificially in order to undermine the workers' movement," Valentin Smirnov, a participant in the All-Russia Conference of Chairmen of Professional Organizations for Coal Industry Enterprises and leader of the Kemerovo territorial committee of the Russian Coal Miners Union [RCMU], stated to your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent. "We are being herded back into 'kolkhozes.' But how can we talk about privatization when almost all the mines are loss-making. State subsidies are needed. Our territorial committee has 70,000 members from 20 open pits and 50 associated service enterprises of the "Kuzbassrazrezugol" and "Yuzhnyy Kuzbass" joint-stock companies. This is 90 percent of the work force. But there are only a few hundred Independent Miners Union [IMU] members, and you could hardly muster 80,000 of them throughout Russia. At the same time as the RCMU, with its membership of about 1 million, is genuinely struggling for miners' rights—which the events in Vorkuta showed, the

RIMU is, on the other hand, making overtures to the government which is providing plentiful funding for this small organization and concluding a sector tariff agreement with it."

Participants of the RCMU representatives' conference are demanding that the Russian Federation Ministry of the Economy review the planned extraction level for 1994 and set it at a volume of 280-290 million tonnes. Reducing the amount to be extracted by 40-60 million tonnes will, in their opinion, lead to a situation whereby it will be impossible in the future to restore the mines' and open pits' production capacities and to preserve Russia's fuel and energy base.

They are also demanding that the financial rescue program for the coal enterprises which has been approved by the government be financed in advance and that measures are taken to lower the level of consumer debt to the mining industry, which amounts to about 600 billion rubles.

Otherwise, the RCMU reserves the right to break off all social partnership relations with the government.

RIMU Tariff Commission Chairman Vladimir Bodyagin described the RCMU demands to extract 280-290 million tonnes of coal a year as childish babble.

"Prices for coal have risen," he said, "and the demand has fallen. Coal is being burned at the depots. It is necessary to close the unprofitable mines but also to provide social protection for those dismissed. This is what the RIMU is trying to secure. I am not going to besmirch the RCMU, but I absolutely reject their accusation that we are a union in the government's 'pocket.' Otherwise we would not have called for a strike 1 December. We are a union of underground workers, the sector's basic motive force, but not of administrators, auxiliary workers, and cleaners...."

Goods Producers Join Chamber of Trade and Commerce

MK2512122093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 6

[Dmitriy Kamin report: "Goods Producers Federation Congress. Yuriy Skokov Joins Trade and Industry Chamber"]

[Text] The mixed outcome of the parliamentary elections has sped up the process of consolidation of Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs. The decision by the congress of the Federation of Goods Producers, which met in Krasnoyarsk yesterday, on including the federation in the Chamber of Trade and Industry [CTI] confirms the probability that the CTI will become the main neopolitical center bringing together the more influential forces of the Russian economy.

The support from the CTI, which has become one of the more noted organizations in Russian business, can boost the prestige of Federation chairman Yuriy Skokov in the eyes of Russian industrialists; that prestige was badly shaken by his resignation from the position of Security Council secretary and was completely undercut by his October inaction. Skokov's performance as head of the Federation (since August 1993) gives no ground to suppose appreciable influence by goods producers on CTI policy: They have not done anything serious to prove their worth.

For the CTI, this alliance will help it bring together under its auspices virtually all groups of Russian business circles (other neopolitical formations no longer aspire to a leading role). This will strengthen the Chamber's position in its dialogue with both representatives of power generally, and with State Duma Deputy Konstantin Zatulin, who proposes a different road to consolidate Russian business. In a bid to protect the interests of Russian business quarters by primarily political methods, he intends to create an "entrepreneurial-industrial" faction in the new parliament.

Aeroflot Director Reports on Company's Peformance

LD2512103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1917 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By TASS business correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Dec—The state of Aeroflot—Russian International Lines, the national air company—is stable. In 1993 it made a good showing in many areas, Vladimir Tikhonov, director of the commercial department of Russia's air transport, said today at a news conference on the annual results and future prospects.

Despite difficulties in the country's economy, a fall in the volume of foreign tourism, and the appearance of new independent air companies which have taken on international services from Tashkent, Kiev, Minsk, Riga, and other points, Aeroflot carried over 4.6 million passengers and 120,000 tonnes of mail and cargo this year—an increase on last year's showing. Revenue from the company's structural elements as a whole and its 158 company offices abroad has also grown.

Vladimir Tikhonov said that today Russia has agreements on air services with 124 states. Of these, 15 were concluded in the current year—with Austria, Albania, Brazil, Vietnam, Israel, Ireland, New Zealand, Panama, and others, including CIS countries. Russia is visited by aircraft from 45 foreign air companies. Thirty airports—from Kaliningrad to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—are servicing them.

Aeroflot flies regular and charter lines to 103 countries across the world. This year, its aircraft began flying regular passenger and cargo routes from Moscow to Panama, Sydney, Johannesburg, the Seychelles, and other destinations. Murmansk, Kaliningrad, Vladivostok, and Khabarovsk have begun international flights. In the winter of 1994, new routes are planned from Chita to

Beijing and Harbin, and from Moscow to Costa-Rica and Sao Paulo. Demand for flights has been consistently high on some lines and Aeroflot has increased the frequency of its flights to Amsterdam, Bahrain, Brussels, Chicago, and Munich.

Aeroflot's main task in the near future, Vladimir Tikhonov emphasized, remains the perfection of its air fleet. Since the middle of the year, he said, we have begun "running in" the wide-fuselage IL-96-300 on a nonstop transAtlantic route from Moscow to New York. Next summer this aircraft will fly to Seattle and Orlando (USA). The A-310-300 airbuses being leased have performed very well on the routes from Moscow to Sydney, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, and Seoul.

Aeroflot is anxious to raise the culture and quality of its service to passengers, Vladimir Tikhonov said, and this has led it to set up a number of joint enterprises. These are also involved in rebuilding airports and ground-based aircraft equipment and in erecting high-class hotels.

International Affairs

Clinton Writes to Kravchuk on Nuclear Issues

LD2312184493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] On Thursday morning Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received a letter from the US President Bill Clinton which contains "certain proposals regarding further work on nuclear disarmament, economic cooperation, and conversion." On his way to Ashgabat, Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko reported to journalists who accompanied him in the aircraft that in his letter US President "expresses his understanding on the need to hold tripartite consultations" (with Russia's participation - INTERFAX).

Zlenko has failed to answer the question whether such consultations could be held at the supreme level.

He reported that "Ukrainian delegation, as any other at the negotiations in Ashgabad, will show its own interest" which, as he said, is largely connected with the results of elections in Russia.

"We are greatly interested in understanding Russia's foreign and domestic policy at the new stage of its development," he said.

Zlenko called the situation in Russia "indefinite" because it is unclear what forces will rule the country, he said.

When asked about the fate of the cosmodrome Baykonur, Zlenko called Russia's intention to rent the cosmodrome as "a new turn" which in the future can be applied to other sites as well.

Leaders 'Concerned' by World Response on Warheads

PM2312132193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Golub report under the "Ukraine" rubric: "Money Up Front for Nuclear Warheads"]

[Text] "A hypocritical lie aimed at ignoramuses"—this is how the Ukrainian Supreme Council's official newspaper HOLOS UKRAYINY described the appeal, circulated by the Russian Federation Embassy in Washington, from Russian designers, scientists, and Atomic Energy Ministry specialists to citizens and governments of the world concerning nuclear weapons based on Ukrainian territory. This document, which in the opinion of the commentary's authors was adopted on the Kremlin's orders, was apparently supposed to conceal Russia's desire to get its hands on ICBM's, start selling off nuclear weapons components to the West, and ultimately earn fresh billions of dollars.

Let us recall that the tension began with the Ukrainian parliament's ratification (after long hesitation) of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol; rather, not so much with the ratification itself as with the amendments that were made, which provoked a stormy reaction in the world and gave grounds for accusing Ukraine of intending to augment the club of nuclear powers. Essentially they boiled down to Kiev's declaration of nuclear reserves as its own property and the transfer of "S" facility personnel to the republic Defense Ministry. These facilities are nothing but nuclear-technical bases. Bearing in mind that the Ukrainian military do not have operational missile-control experience and do not determine their targeting, people here believe that these decisions by no means block independent Ukraine's movement toward nonnuclear status.

The world community has a different opinion, fearing that the state's current or future leadership could be tempted by such a powerful factor in establishing a power in the post-perestroyka world's realities.

Although official propaganda is more than restrained in its assessments of parliament's decree, the power's statesmen are concerned by the international community's negative reaction. This is why everything is now being done to explain Ukraine's position. At a recent meeting with foreign states' ambassadors, President Leonid Kravchuk expressed his displeasure at the Supreme Council's decision and promised to do everything to ensure that this question is reconsidered at a session. He gave his assurance that Ukraine is interested in getting rid of other people's nuclear weapons it has inherited from the USSR. However, the president stressed, it is of material value. Ukraine is counting on an understanding of the problems closely associated with the elimination of nuclear missiles. First and foremost we are talking about ecological safety, compensation for strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, and the country being given financial assistance to eliminate them.

At the same time it has already been reported that the United States has allocated $175 million to Ukraine for the elimination of these types of weapons (medium-range forces). The money will be taken from the Nunn-Lugar funds under the U.S. law of the same name. It is also planned to use the funds for the expert monitoring and recording of nuclear materials and ensuring the safety of nuclear reactors.

Kravchuk Comments on Return From CIS Summit

LD2512181693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0610 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Yesterday, a meeting of heads of state of the CIS member states took place in the capital of Turkmenistan. Our correspondent Eduard Kotenko filed this report:

[Kotenko] The participants of the meeting discussed ways, forms, and methods of implementing the treaty on setting up the economic union. A range of documents on economic integration, development of cooperation, consolidation of trust in relations among the Commonwealth states and also guaranteeing the rights of the individuals who belong to national, ethnic, language, cultural, and religious minorities, were considered. Altogether 21 documents were signed—actually all the documents prepared for the Ashgabat summit. Turkmenistan became an associate member of the economic union. Therefore, the formation of a single economic system of the CIS countries was completed. It is of an open nature. A decision was made to create a functional chairing body, to be elected for six months. Russian President Boris Yeltsin is to head it during the first six months of 1994. As was already reported, a meeting of the council of heads of government of the CIS states was held on the eve of the summit. They discussed a package of agreements, in particular, those on cooperation in the field of investment activities and also on a coordinated anti-monopoly policy. In Ashgabat, the president of Ukraine met the heads of a number of CIS states. They considered several urgent issues of bilateral relations. The meeting ended in a summarizing news conference. Its participants testified to the extraordinarily fruitful nature of the Ashgabat meeting. In an adopted declaration, the Commonwealth was given a new nature of interaction based on mutual trust and a key mechanism of bilateral relations. It was emphasized at the news conference that this meets the need of states to maintain relations on equal and mutually beneficial principles. It was reported that the next summit would take place in March in Moscow. The president of Ukraine did not take part in this news conference.

Yesterday Leonid Kravchuk returned to Kiev. He held a news conference at the Borispol airport for Ukrainian and foreign journalists.

Summing up the outcome of the Ashgabat summit the President of Ukraine pointed out the following:

[Begin recording] [Kravchuk] It is important for us that Ukraine solve the issue of energy sources; relevant agreements were concluded with Russia and Turkmenistan, and the issue on deferring the terms of settling our debts was solved. I met Presidents Niyazov, Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, and Nazarbayev. Generally speaking, there were meetings with almost all the presidents, and talks and negotiations took place. Therefore, it can be summed up that the Ashgabat meeting was calm and balanced.

Time has already passed—two years—since the CIS was established, and it seems to me that both the heads of state and the heads of government are gaining patience, balance, and responsibility. The process of the CIS formation and improvement is under way.

[Unidentified reporter] It is known that a significant part of proposals introduced into the Declaration were forwarded by Ukraine. How was this perceived by the meeting participants?

[Kravchuk] This was perceived in a normal manner. I must tell you that our ministers, foreign political departments, defense ministers, and premiers arrived there as early as the day before yesterday, and were doing their job well. In other words, the documents were prepared well at this level. And this is why the heads of state had no big difficulties signing them, when the documents were worked up properly and everyone's proposals were taken into account. The main themes of equal rights, partnership, equality pave the road and everyone sees that this is the only correct way of tackling complicated issues without the help of force. [end recording]

[Kotenko] The head of the Ukrainian state answered a question on the results of the meeting between Kravchuk and the Russian president.

[Begin recording] [Kravchuk] As far as the talks with Yeltsin are concerned, they were as an exchange of opinions, because we—as I have already told you—exchanged rather serious letters with Boris Nikolayevich, and there were talks, and we had already defined our stands on these issues, especially nuclear and other ones. Now we only exchange opinions of how to act, and what further steps to take.

[Reporter] Along with the summit meeting, an economic agreement between Ukraine and Russia was signed. Can you give your assessment of the document?

[Kravchuk] I can give a positive assessment. That is to say, a specific agreement was achieved, first and foremost, as far as energy sources are concerned, both on the volumes and prices, and tariffs and transportation. In other words, this problem was solved comprehensively by the documents. With Turkmenistan too, the issue of gas was solved comprehensively. In other words, I can give a positive assessment.

[Reporter] Yeltsin will probably remain a guarantor of Russia's obligations in relation to Ukraine until 1996. Did you talk with him during this meeting concerning the fact that the guarantees for the use of the SS-19 warheads are about to expire? Or, did he promise that Russia would compensate us for our SS-19 warheads with energy, uranium, or with money?

[Kravchuk] Well, I said that the preparation of a tripartite agreement between Ukraine, Russia, and the United States is on the agenda. There is understanding on the preparation, but there is no agreement as yet. And if it is prepared—I hope so, because there is such an accord—then all these issues will be raised: Compensation, scientific, and technical assistance, guarantees, and ecological issues. In other words, in that agreement all these issues will be outlined on the terms, stages and everything which is connected with this very important issue. This is how we agreed, strictly speaking. That is to say, it will not bear the nature of tackling any single problem, but tackling issues as a complex. [end recording]

[Kotenko] The president of Ukraine also answered other questions from journalists.

Official Comments on Border Disputes With Russia

LD2412001593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1938 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Commission on Foreign Affairs Dmitro Pavlychko said, when commenting on the draft Ukrainian-Russian treaty, that for the time-being the provisions on the state frontiers were discussed.

In his words, Ukraine demands that the new treaty mention the provision on non-violability of the existing frontiers as the present treaty of 21 December 1990 does. Russia wants to retreat to general phrases, he pointed out.

"Unfortunately, this manifests that the Russian party intends to return to the territorial issue in the future," Pavlychko concluded in an interview with INTERFAX.

According to him, directing its policy to the West, Ukraine wants to oppose the intention of Russia to restore a new empire "either through the CIS structures or through the economic union."

"If Russia is democratic Europe will be calm. However, if Russia seeks a domination this will provoke fear among the new states and strengthen their aspiration to join NATO," he said.

"However, speaking on the aspiration of Ukraine to a closer integration with the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary Pavlychko remarked: "Our strategic way is not to establish an anti-Russian alliance" but to act so that Russia establish good relations with the Western Europe through the Black Sea-Baltic system. Pavlychko believes that Russia will be closer to Europe through integration of Ukraine with Europe.

Russian Liberal Democrats Campaign in Poltava

LD2312221493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1530 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Poltava—Several days after the preliminary results of the election in Russia were announced, emissaries of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party launched their propaganda activity in the center of the city. Calling on city residents to join their organization, they openly came out for making Ukraine a part of Russia and maintain they will stay in Ukraine till the March election.

National Affairs

Reports of SS-24 Missile Deactivation Refuted

LD2512171693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1515 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 25 Dec—Reports concerning activities of Ukraine's Defense Ministry are often inconsistent with reality lately. First, the information agency "Novyny" [UNIAN] circulated a number of false scoops on decrees by the new defense minister, and now a report by REUTER turned out to be somewhat inaccurate.

According to well-informed sources, a report by REUTER saying seven SS-24 missiles have been taken off alert in Ukraine is not true. Warheads were removed from the SS-18 missiles that had reached the end of their operational period. The SS-24 missiles are fairly new and, according to experts, should not yet be subject to reduction.

Kravchuk on Parliament's 'Attack' of Executive Power

LD2512202793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk called the Ukrainian parliament's policy with respect to the executive power as "an obvious attack" against the executive. In his interview with journalists on his arrival from Ashgabat he noted that he is concerned with the fact that "over the last period of time Ukraine's Supreme Soviet has turned into something which is reminiscent of either a plenum or a political bureau when it immediately adopts decisions which are in the competence of the executive power."

The Ukrainian parliament has imposed a veto on the Ukrainian president's decree on creation of the navigation concern BLASKO on the basis of the Black Sea steam line. Deputies recommended to the head of state "to urgently present candidacy of a prime minister for the parliament's consideration."

"This is the right of the Supreme Soviet. I do not see any problems here. However, I have the right to react to this." This was Leonid Kravchuk' comment concerning the parliament's decision.

The Ukrainian president has confirmed the proposal to hold a referendum "which would resolve the issue on the structure and character of power. We must obligatory consult the people," he declared.

Parliament Vetoes Decree Privatizing Shipping Firm

LD2412234993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1310 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 24 Dec—Deputies at the morning sitting of the Ukrainian Supreme Council continued the debate on the Black Sea Shipping Company. At Deputy Sements's proposal, there will be a full relay of the debate on the issue in the evening. The resolution on the Ukrainian president's directive of 13 August 1993 on the institution of the "Blasco" (Black Sea Shipping Company) joint stock shipping concern was adopted. The Ukrainian Supreme Council resolved in accordance with Paragraph 29 of Article 97 of the Constitution of Ukraine that the above directive should be vetoed as contravening Paragraphs 4-2 and 7-4 of Article 114/5 of the Constitution of Ukraine. It is in breach of the Constitution's section that establishes that the issue of setting up entrepreneurial activity entities is not under the president's jurisdiction.

Deputies adopted a resolution on the situation that had arisen in the Black Sea Shipping Company (concern "Blasco"). Having discussed reports on the situation of the Black Sea Shipping Company from chairmen of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's standing committee for issues on the development of the principal sectors of the national economy, the credentials standing committee, and the standing committee for deputies' ethos, the Ukrainian Supreme Council resolved: The Supreme Council's standing committee for issues on the development of the principal sectors of the national economy, with the participation of Ukrainian people's deputies and together with the Office of the Procurator General, Internal Affairs Ministry, and Security Service of Ukraine, is to be instructed urgently to check the activity of the Black Sea Shipping Company (concern "Blasco"), as well as the facts cited in people's deputies' speeches at the plenary sitting on 23 December and reports from some of the officials and mass media on abuses at the above shipping company. The committee is to be granted plenary powers in accordance with the laws on the status of a people's deputy. On the results of the check, the committee is to take appropriate steps to return the state property that was illegally taken out of Ukraine, and report to the Ukrainian Supreme Council by 20 January 1994. For the duration of the check, it is recommended that the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers should suspend Transport Minister Orest Klympush and Pavlo Kudyukin, chairman of the joint stock company "Blasco," from their duties. By 28 December the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers is to check whether the bilateral contracts of 2-3 September 1993, made by the Black Sea Shipping Company and "Maritime Partner Hamburg" (Germany) [name as received], were expedient and lawful, and is to take measures if required. The outcome is to be reported to the Supreme Council Presidium by 30 December. Calculations of currency contributions to the budget, arising from the activity of the Black Sea Shipping Company in the years 1992 and 1993, are to be urgently presented to the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

Deputies did not discuss the issue of the former Black Sea Shipping Company chairman, People's Deputy Viktor Pylypenko, being reinstated to work. The chairman of the concern "Blasco," Mr. Kudyukin, is abroad and, according to unverified data, is not back yet.

Chornovil Says Dismantling of Nuclear Weapons 'Treason'

LD2312181293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1415 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Report by Rukh-Press]

[Text] Kiev, 23 Dec—The Rukh chairman [People's Movement of Ukraine] referred to the statement by Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov, on the readiness of the government of Ukraine to dismantle the most up-to-date solid fuel missiles, as a continuation of the Massandra Treason. They are not subject to the START I Treaty. However, the government agrees to such a step in hope that this will allow Russia to cancel Ukraine's debt. The opposition leader is convinced that no one would dare make such a statement without the president's sanction. "Having brought the country to a catastrophe, the nomenklatura is looking for means and money in panic so as to keep hold of power at all costs, even at the cost of national treason. Today, they sell the Fleet and nuclear weapons, tomorrow they will sell Ukraine," warned Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Cabinet Sees No Need for Food Rationing

PM2412201693 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by UNIAN's Nataliya Zinets "specially for IZVESTIYA": "Food Ration Cards Will Not Be Introduced in Ukraine for Time Being"]

[Text] Kiev—In accordance with a Supreme Council decree, the Ukrainian cabinet has examined a number of measures designed to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the country. "While the government has documentation prepared for the introduction of a ration-card system for allocating staple foodstuffs, it does not consider its introduction warranted at this stage"—I cite the speech by Economics Minister R. Shpek. According to him, the government prefers targeted monetary aid to disadvantaged categories of the population.

However, the minister was indulging in wishful thinking. Despite the enormous quantity of coupons issued by the National Bank of Ukraine [NBU], a shortage of cash is to be observed in the state today. And thus wages, pensions, and help to the disadvantaged have not hitherto been paid in full.

According to Vice Premier V. Demyanov, there will not be food ration cards chiefly because the state is unable to supply the appropriate amount of food to match them. Despite Ukraine's producing in 1993 the biggest harvest of recent years and the fact that its warehouses are now stocked with agricultural produce, it is having to be returned to the producers as the state has not had the wherewithal to date to pay the farmers and procurement officials. For this reason, plus the fact that the NBU has banned the issuing of credit, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and private farms find themselves in a critical state.

Farming deputies chiefly blame the NBU for this and have prepared a draft Supreme Council decree dismissing NBU Board Chairman V. Yushchenko. This opinion also finds support among industrial deputies: Many industrial enterprises have already suffered and trade has been paralyzed as a result of the credit ban. But, in the opinion of ex-Vice Premier V. Lanovoy, it is unfair to pin all the blame on the NBU Board chairman because the hyperinflation and other current problems besetting Ukraine are chiefly the consequence of the government's wasteful policy.

As Lanovoy said, it is not enough to be a good specialist today; you also have to show political will and persistence; and that, unfortunately, has not been demonstrated by the NBU Board chairman, who has agreed decisions on issuing money made by the parliament and the cabinet which have been destructive to Ukraine's economy.

Trade Unions Issue Ultimatum to President

MK2312144093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Dec 93 p 5

[Konstantin Perishkura report: "Ukraine's Trade Unions Call For Creation of a New Government"]

[Text] The Presidium of Ukraine's Free Trade Unions [UFTU] has spoken in favor of mass protest actions to be held on 21 through 25 December and also the creation of a coordination center headed by UFTU Chairman Aleksandr Stoyan. The UFTU has filed a suit with the Ukrainian prosecutor general over the government's violation of the general tariff agreement for 1993. The UFTU stated that if Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk continues to ignore the trade unions' demands it will begin, as of 1 January 1994, to raise signatures under a petition to hold a referendum on confidence in the president.

Ukraine's free trade unions have called for a strike to begin on 18 January 1994, demanding that power be immediately transferred to the new government, with the "requisite legislative and presidential powers to form a new government and conduct reforms" to be delegated to the future premier.

Crime Prompts State of Emergency in Sevastopol

MK2512125093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Konstantin Parishkura report from Kiev under the "State of Emergency" rubric: "State of Emergency Imposed in Sevastopol. "'Banditry Is Rampant' in the Black Sea Fleet Main Base"]

[Text] On 25 December a state of emergency was introduced in Sevastopol by decision of the city administration, the Black Sea Fleet command, and the Ukrainian Naval Command. Commenting on this decision, Rear Admiral Vitaliy Larionov, deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet, said that "banditry is rampant" on the main Black Sea Fleet base in Sevastopol.

The city will be patrolled jointly by Internal Affairs Administration officers, the Black Sea Fleet, and the Ukrainian Navy. City authorities are scrambling to set up 25 support points for maintaining law and order. The Black Sea Fleet command and the Ukrainian Naval Command have provided combat craft, armored equipment, and helicopters to seize the most dangerous criminal gangs, and the city administration will finance the maintenance costs of a 100-man unit.

Meanwhile, the Coordinating Council of Sevastopol Citizens of Ukrainian Origin said that these measures were not enough. It suggested that a curfew be imposed and that chiefs of the city Internal Affairs Administration be replaced, because, in the council's view, they proved completely helpless in the struggle against the mafia.

Christian Democratic Party Registered

LD2612143593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] The Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine [KhDPU] has been registered by the Central Electoral Commission for the election of people's deputies of Ukraine. As KhDPU Chairman Vitaliy Zhuravskyy declared, today the party has 208 candidates who join the election marathon.

Belarus

Shushkevich on Plans To Establish Presidency

LD2312203193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1611 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Yakaterina Vysotskaya]

[Text] Minsk December 23 TASS—"The forthcoming year of the dog, according to the Japanese calendar, is my year. And I think that every good politician, not only a good dog, should have a fine scent, should be able to forecast upcoming events and distinguish friends from foes." Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich told the newspaper RESPUBLIKA.

Asked about plans to establish a presidency in the republic, the speaker of the Belarus Parliament said: "I am an adherent of collective leadership and an enemy of dictatorship. I believe that some problems cannot be solved by one man and that this requires collective wisdom. This is why I am trying to rely on people of like mind in the parliament. True, and I regret it, there are very few such people in the parliament's presidium—its 'collective brain'. However, if I was elected president," Shushkevich added, "I would not issue any decrees and would not sign any decisions for a certain span of time. I would begin by convening the leaders of all the key trends and by setting up a 'privy council'. No journalists would be allowed to attend its meetings. I would close all the doors and windows to them. And nobody would be allowed to leave the council's conference room until they jointly adopted a grounded conceptual programmes to 'save' the republic, acceptable to all. Our greatest handicap today is that we have no grounded concept for pulling the republic out of the crisis. We are compelled to catch at one straw after another."

Shushkevich especially noted that he did not regard himself as one of the three culprits responsible for the "collapse of the union". "I would never alter a single letter in the Belovezhskaya Agreement," he stressed. "The only thing that I would do today is to offer every member of the agreement to pledge allegiance to this decision. It is being implemented in quite a different way from what we had planned. It is wrong to try to build one's life, one's economy at the expense of a neighbour. This is bound to boomerang against the one who does it. Some CIS members have already been hit very hard by the boomerang."

People's Front Head Criticizes Western Policy

MK2412132093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Zenon Poznyak, leader of the Belarusian People's Front, by Vitaliy Tsygankov under the "Belarus" rubric: "'We Should Not Give Nuclear Arms Back to Russia.' Leader of the Opposition Belarusian People's Front Believes That the West Should Shift Priorities in Relations with Former Soviet Republics"]

[Text] [Tsygankov] How do you think the results of the Russian elections will affect the pro-communist majority in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet?

[Poznyak] When the communists strengthen their positions in the Russian State Duma (and to all appearances this will happen) our people sharing their views will be swift to show their face. For the time being, however, they are at a crossroads. They do not know what to do. Look, so much time has passed after the elections, but our Supreme Soviet has not said a single word about Russia.

[Tsygankov] What practical conclusions has the Belarusian People's Front drawn from the elections in Russia?

[Poznyak] We do not propose anything fancy. There are standards that have been trampled underfoot in the past few decades, standards by which a society and a state must live. We should introduce our own currency, pursue our state policy proceeding from our state interests. In other words, to make others recognize us, as did, for instance, tiny Estonia. A second, more specific conclusion we have drawn from the Russian elections concerns the nuclear arms issue. If reckless adventurists who are intent on making wars and changing borders come to power in a nuclear state, clearly these people do not have the right to control nuclear weapons. This is elementary. Neither Ukraine nor Belarus should give missiles back to such a state. I will recall, however, that it was the Belarusian People's Front that made sure that a nuclear-free status and neutrality are enshrined in our Constitution. We do not need nuclear arms, but we cannot give them to politicians who could plunge the world into a global war. The thing is, however, that we cannot destroy the weapons without the West. This is too costly an enterprise. Even under the current leaders Belarus has done its utmost: We started cutting tanks, missiles. Mind you, no one is doing so except us; and at our own expense, despite Chernobyl. And... no help from the West. Excuse me, do you have a name for it? If the West continues failing to help us disarm, we may find a different way out of the situation. After all, it is not we who invented nuclear missiles, nor did we bring them here.

[Tsygankov] Can we expect that there will be no changes in Western policy with regard to former Soviet republics?

[Poznyak] The West has been sending all its political and moral support to Russia, completely ignoring Belarus and Ukraine. It was assumed that Russia, thanks to its dominance, its oil and gas reserves, and its special pricing policy, had ousted Ukraine and Belarus and brought them to their knees. The West has deliberately done so, as it believes that it is pursuing a wise policy of creating "a new, democratic Russia." But if European civilization and the free world are to be expanded, they should have given assistance to the Baltic states, Ukraine, and Belarus in the first place: To give moral and political support to democratic forces, to inform us, to come and to study our situation, to shape public opinion. But none of this happened. All attention has been focused on where there is shooting going on. Will the West be able to change its attitude? Of course, there will be some adjustments made. But as far as I understand Western policy, this is a very lazy, inert, and recalcitrant thinking, which is hardly capable of change. I am afraid that, as was the case with Hitler, the West, without properly realizing it, may help fascists come to power and boost their stance in Russia.

Council of Ministers Considers GATT Membership

LD2512140493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1241 GMT 25 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Viktor Sakhankov for TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 25 TASS—The Belarussian Council of Ministers has resolved to set up an interdepartmental commission to prepare Belarus for joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Vice-Premier Mikhail Myasnikovich has been appointed head of the commission.

The main tasks of the commission are to work out Belarus' positions at talks on the membership of the independent state in the GATT and its participations in agreements in effect in the framework of this organisation; to participate in the examination of the existing and new legislation currently created in Belarus for purposes of bringing it in line with GATT principles and norms; to render assistance in informational coverage of economic reforms; and to prepare corresponding legislature and analytical informational materials to be submitted to the GATT secretariat.

National Bank Orders Large Denomination Notes

LD2612153893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1319 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] The National Bank of Belarus has placed an order with Russia's Minting Office, Goznak, to print R5,000 and R10,000 denomination notes, NBB President Stanislav Bogdandkevich said. At the same time, he raised the possibility of extending the contract with the Goznak because of a sharp increase in services provided. He does not rule out that the country's interim currency will be printed in one of European countries, possibly Germany.

At present, R1-1,000 worth coupons are in circulation in Belarus with one Russian ruble fetching four coupons.

Belarus and Russia reached agreement in September that they would issue a joint declaration on a monetary union by the end of this year.

The statement was due to be announced during the recent CIS summit in Ashgabat. However, this was delayed not to "derail the signing of economic agreements with other CIS states," Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich told INTERFAX.

Arms Deal Deemed Legal in U.S. Embassy Inquiry

WS2712110293 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Larisa Klyuchnikova: "Weapons Were Shipped to Peru"]

[Text] The U.S. Embassy in Minsk requested additional information from the Belarusian Foreign Ministry on the detention in the Mediterranean Sea of a weapons cargo purchased in Belarus. According to the Cabinet of Ministers, competent Belarusian agencies said that the weapons sales did not violate Belarusian law. According to a contract signed by Belvneshpromservice, the Republic's foreign trade company, and the American "Crawford International Arms Incorporated," the shipment of weapons was bound for Peru. The inquiry by the U.S. Embassy was intended to check activities of the American company. No claims were made to the Belarusian side.

Moldova

Snegur Comments on Results of CIS Summit

AU2512184093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1800 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/12/93—The Moldovan President Mircea Snegur stated to reporters that according to a decision approved today during the meeting in Ashgabat of CIS state heads, the Agreement on Creating the CIS Economic Union would start to function until its ratification by the Parliaments of the CIS states. "We are satisfied by the way in which the summit was held; its objective was to reanimate the economic relations between the former Soviet republics," said Mircea Snegur. The president added that at the request of the Moldovan delegation, the social and political situation in Moldova after the sentence in the trial of the six Moldovan citizens had been announced by an unconstitutional court, was discussed during the summit. "The leaders of the member states supported Moldova's request to transfer unconditionally the political prisoners from Tiraspol to the Moldovan Supreme Court," said Snegur.

President Snegur also said that he met with Boris Yeltsin in Ashgabat. Problems concerning relations between Russia and Moldova and their future, in particular for 1994, were discussed during their meeting.

Socialist Party To Head Leftist Bloc in Elections

AU2512183993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1800 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/12/93—The electoral lists of the Moldovan Socialist Party (PSM) will be presented to the Central Electoral Commission until the new year. It will include 104 candidates and two spare ones, stated Valeriu Senic, PSM coordinating member. Senic said that PSM would take part in elections together with the Movement "Unitatea-Edinstvo" (The Unity). These two organizations would create the Bloc of Leftist Forces. The Academician Artiom Lazarev, deputies in the present Parliament Valentin Crilov, Victor Morev, Vladimir Solonari and writer Constantin Munteanu are included in the electoral lists.

Military Cooperation Program With Belarus Adopted

LD2512222493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] The defense departments of Moldova and Belarus have adopted a cooperation program. This occurred during an official visit to Kishinev by a Belarusian military delegation led by General Pavel Kazlowski, the republic's defense minister. During the talks matters relating to the joint activity of the two countries' military in the military-technical sphere, and the reciprocal exchange of information and training of cadres were discussed.

Army Rejects 'Unjustified' Press Attacks

AU2512184293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1800 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 24/12/93—The flow of articles with slander against the Moldovan National Army is exclusively oriented against the state, says a declaration of the Military College of the Ministry of Defense. "Lately, in the republic press, especially in TARA and GLASUL NATIUNII one can notice frank intentions of the journalists to discredit the National Army, including its leadership," states the declaration. It adds that "these are unjustified attacks, based on disinformation." The College members assert that many critical articles about the Army have been rigorously controlled; it was found out that they "were wrong" and often "the wrong appreciation of the state of things in the Army is made by totally incompetent persons." The declaration states that the Ministry of Defense (MA) is ready to cooperate with all mass-media means and accept "any objective criticism that creates a true image of the state of things in the National Army."

Some Chisinau publications published and still publish series of articles, where Minister of Defense Pavel Creanga, vice-minister Tudor Dabija and other dignitaries from the MA structures are blamed of corruption and traffic of influence. They are also blamed for the tragic failure of the Armed Forces in some military operations in last summer's war.

Tiraspol Reportedly To Transfer Ilascu to Chisinau

AU2312194593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/12/93—From sources close to the General Prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova, the ROMPRES special envoy to Chisinau found out that the Ilascu group is reportedly to be moved to Chisinau and surrendered to the constitutional bodies of Moldova, but after the parliamentary elections of 2 February next year. The same sources claim the move was planned for after elections in order to avoid troubles during the electoral campaign. The powers in Chisinau keep silent; press correspondents can hardly approach officials on this subject. It appears that the possibility of having "the Ilascu file" transferred from Tiraspol to Chisinau finds the Moldovan leadership at a loss. The Republic's prosecutor general finds the sentence passed by the Tiraspol court as null and void as issued by a juridical body that has earned no recognition. Therefore fresh evidence must be brought and new investigations conducted in their case to see whether the charges against them are proven by facts.

Ilascu Thanks Romanian Press for Support

AU2312134993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1300 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/12/1993—"I believe in the ideal of Romania being what it was in 1918," said Ilie Ilascu, the Romanian patriot sentenced to death by an unconstitutional court in Tiraspol, in a letter addressed to the Bucharest daily ROMANIA LIBERA.

"The fulfilment is close and all sacrifices at the Dniester were not in vain. If I got the great union closer, albeit with a day, it was worth the sacrifice," the Romanian patriot said.

Ilie Ilascu thanks in his letter the Romanian press for its support and recalls the joy he felt for, after his sentence was pronounced, the country's parliament gave up all disputes and unanimously voted to firmly condemn the mock trial in Tiraspol.

"I could not stand aside when in Tiraspol, in Moldova, people were killed while fighting for the country," said Ilascu recalling his own fight, now when he is to be sent in front of the fire squad.

Kazakhstan

Chernomyrdin Arrives for Talks on Baykonur, Energy

LD2412181693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1709 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov, Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Almaty December 24 TASS—A Russian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has just arrived in Almaty.

At the airport the delegation was welcomed by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and other republican heads.

The visit is expected to coordinate plans for mutually beneficial comprehensive cooperation of Russia and Kazakhstan in 1994 and longer period, including the joint use of the Baykonur space launching grounds and development of the fuel and energy complex.

Meets With Nazarbayev

LD2512130293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] A step forward has been taken in the development of Russo-Kazakh relations in a whole range of areas of the greatest importance. This is how Viktor Chernomyrdin assessed the talks which took place today between Russian and Kazakh government delegations. The Russian prime minister remarked that the main result of the meeting was the documents signed.

Apart from the memorandum on the visit, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko of Kazakhstan signed an intergovernmental memorandum on mutual understanding in ensuring the functioning of the Baykonur Space Center, an agreement on cooperation in the development of the fuel and energy complex, and also an agreement on trade and economic cooperation in 1994.

On the same day, the Russian prime minister was received by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan. Replying to a question from a RIA correspondent on the contents of their conversation, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that the coordination of approaches in the preparation of an agreement between Russia and Kazakhstan on military and technical cooperation occupied an important place in the discussion.

Fuel Agreement To Be Signed

LD2512163693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1510 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Russia and Kazakhstan intend to sign an agreement on development of cooperation in the domain of the fuel and energy complex.

In accordance with the agreement reached during the visit of Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin to Almaty Russia will deliver to Kazakhstan 12 Mn [million] tones of oil, 1.8 Bn [billion] cubic meters of natural gas, 2.2 Mn tones of diesel fuel, 850,000 tones of fuel oil and 3 Mn tones of coal in 1994. In exchange Russia will receive 12 Mn tones of oil, 33 Mn tones of coal, 1.7 Bn cubic meters of natural gas and technological equipment (the mutual deliveries of energy supply are carried out under the economic relations between industrial enterprises and systems of pipe lines established in the former USSR). The deliveries are to be free of customs duty.

Kazakh Minister of Energy and Fuel Supply Kadyr Baykenov announced that the Kazakh and Russian fuel and energy complexes will establish direct relations next year. They will act without mediators such as the Kazcontract and the Roscontract (the state organizations which carry out clearing delivery in accordance with the inter-governmental agreements). In his opinion,, this will allow the financial situation in the complex's enterprises to stabilize.

According to the agreement, the parties are also to contribute to establishment of joint ventures and joint stock companies for manufacturing of production necessary for the fuel and energy complex. Delivery of these joint ventures' enterprises will be carried out without licences and customs duty.

Shokhin on Results of Talks

LD2512165793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1524 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] As we have already reported, a Russian delegation headed by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is in Almaty. Government Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin briefs us on the results the negotiations with the leadership of Kazakhstan.

[Begin Shokhin recording] Today we have been having a working meeting to draw up and sign documents, three of which relate to military-technical cooperation; I mean here the memorandum on utilization of the Baykonur cosmodrome. An accord in principle has been reached on a scheme for leasing Baykonur to the Russian Federation, and general principles for cooperation in this sphere have been agreed. A memorandum has also been signed on the results of the meeting, in which a wider range of military-technical cooperation is examined. This involves other military testing grounds: The same scheme will evidently be implemented in regard to these installations, as well. All in all, this will lead to normalization of relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, including in connection with strategic nuclear weapons. We believe this to be a fundamental solution, though. I reiterate, in the months ahead we will have to implement these memoranda and bring them to a full-blown accord which the presidents of the two states will sign.

In addition, we have reached mutual understanding on cooperation in the sphere of the fuel and energy complex.

Reciprocal supplies of energy resources will no longer come under the general scheme which was applied this year. The idea is that for specific types of power engineering, specialized organizations close to the production level will act as middlemen. This power engineering scheme which we proposed today makes ajustments to the old ideology, and we shall now have to determine the list of middlemen organizations which will operate in various spheres, for we are dealing here with imports critical for Kazakhstan and critical for Russia. We must determine mechanisms for trade and economic relations and for means of payment and settlement between enterprises, in order as much as possible to decentralize these links and to clear away the blockages which currently exist in economic and financial accounting. We have now agreed on mutually-acceptable wordings which satisfy both sides, and both the Russian Federation delegation and the delegation of Kazakhstan have grounds for satisfaction. [end recording]

I should remind you that the dispatch was prepared by our correspondent in Kazakhstan, Viktor Glukhovtsev.

Chernomyrdin Views Interethnic Relations

LD2512214293 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Excerpts] President Nursultan Nazarbayev met the Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today. [passage omitted] A news conference was held today by Sergey Terechshenko, the prime minister of Kazakhstan and Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Russian prime minister. Answering the question on interethnic relations Viktor Chernomyrdin said:

[Begin Chernomyrdin recording] What can I say here? I think that this outburst happened partly due to last month's election campaign, I mean the election of deputies to the Russian parliament. Not only by mass media, we can't blame everything here on the mass media. They can't be held responsible for this. Leaders of certain parties and movements have played fast and loose. They have made irresponsible remarks, concerning especially the Russian community in Kazakhstan, and not only in Kazakhstan. I don't want it to be and it can't be identified as the government's policy, or the policy of the president of Russia. This isn't the case. We regard these statements as irresponsible and groundless and they are not based on facts. That was a pure invention. Russia does not want to foment inter-ethnic tensions, especially by using the Russian speaking community. There is no such thing and it won't be. Those who have made these kind of declarations - they are just too imaginative or simply sick people. We can't describe it in any other way; this outburst, this splash, which probably has been published by certain sources of mass media, is completely groundless. Russia doesn't give any causes for this. I want to emphasize again that we thoroughly discussed this topic with the president. He showed me the Constitution. The Constitution of Kazakhstan enshrines equal rights of all the people of Kazakhstan in terms of language, place of settlement, and dual citizenship. You simply have either to read it carefully or explain it correctly. Someone seems to be interested in causing inter-ethnic tension. This won't happen. I want to use this opportunity and address the Russian speaking community of Kazakhstan. Don't listen to the irresponsible declarations. We are doing everything possible today to bring us closer together. Why do you think we are eliminating customs barriers and dues. We are saying today that Rossiyane [citizens of Russia] want to move to Kazakhstan. Well, let them do that and Kazakhstanis are welcome to move to Russia and live there. This should be done on a voluntary basis.

The issue of inter-ethnic relations was always a complicated issue here and no good will come of fomenting it. Therefore I would like to draw your attention to an agreement on an economic union which was signed today by practically all republics of the former USSR, apart from the Baltics. It was signed by Georgia and by Azerbaijan, which were the last to join the economic union. Today a new union is being created on an economic basis without infringement on the rights of any state. All Europe is joining its efforts today. We were once united and now we are dividing ourselves. We, the government and the president, are doing everything so as to eliminate these barriers and simplify these relations so as to elaborate a similar or a common legislative basis of our states, so our people face few barriers. One million Kazakhs are living in Russia. Have you ever heard anyone here say anything about their rights being violated? Not a single document says that. It never happened and I don't think it will ever happen. And I don't think that this will happen with the Russian speaking community of Kazakhstan. These irresponsible remarks have been voiced by people who do not have any responsiblities. All they could do is to make this noise. [end recording]

Tajikistan

Parliament Endorses Samadov Appointment as Premier

LD2712102893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953 GMT 27 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 27 TASS—Abdujalil Samadov, a 44-year-old doctor of economic sciences and vice-chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, was today appointed to the post of Tajik prime minister. His candidature, proposed by chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Imamali Rakhmonov, was endorsed by the 18th session of the Tajik parliament now under way here.

Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov, who headed the Council of Ministers before Samadov, was relieved of his duties by a decree of the presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet on 18 December "in connection with his appointment as Tajik ambassador to the Russian Federation".

Samadov, just as his predecessor, comes from the northern region of Tajikistan. He is an advocate of market reforms and a well-known man in the local business world. The new premier, according to his statement, has his own program to pull Tajikistan out of the current acute economic crisis. He plans to submit it to the session of the Supreme Soviet when it begins to discuss the republic's economic situation.

The session then proceeded to discuss a series of bills pertaining to the republic's foreign economic and banking transactions. The session is expected to be over by 30 December. It is to discuss more than forty problems within the remaining five days.

No Parliament Quorum; Leninabad Oblast Rumored Responsible

LD2412172193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0645 GMT 24 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 December—A routine session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan scheduled for today has not yet opened because it lacks a quorum. Only 125 of 225 people's deputies turned up for the session. The largest parliamentary delegation from Leninabad Oblast was represented by only a few deputies. According to the official version presented to the deputies by Abdumajid Dostiyev, First deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, the people's deputies had been delayed by a lack of fuel for refueling the aircraft bringing them to Dushanbe.

However, in the corridors of the Tajik parliament rumors are being circulated that the Leninabad delegation is deliberately blocking the opening of the session in the absence of Imamali Rahmonov, head of parliament, who, as is known, is taking part in the meeting of the heads of states of the CIS states in Ashgabat and will arrive in Dushanbe late in the evening. In the opinion of one well informed source in the Supreme Soviet of the republic, the Leninabad delegation, acting on instructions from the oblast's corps of deputies, intends to have included on the agenda of the session the question of introducing in Tajikistan the institution of presidential power and the granting to the oblast of the status of a free economic zone.

Rakhmanov, Rabbani Hold News Conference

LD2312233393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1140 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The official visit by Afghan President Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani to Tajikistan has concluded. The document signing ceremony took place at government headquarters yesterday. Dear listeners, our correspondent Asror Salimov reports on the ceremony.

[Salimov] The document signing ceremony between the two states took place yesterday evening at government headquarters, after the return of Afghan President Rabbani and Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Tajik Supreme Council, from the town of Tursunzoda and Gissarskiy Rayon.

First, the leaders of the two states signed the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and good-neighborliness between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic State of Afghanistan. This met with loud and prolonged applause from those present.

Later, several agreements, in particular on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, on a memorandum of understanding, on economic and trade cooperation, on export of gas, on cooperation in the fields of science, culture, and education, and an agreement on refugees were signed.

After the documents were signed, Rakhmanov and Rabbani made speeches. Rakhmanov said the following:

[Begin Rakhmanov recording] [passage omitted including indistinct portion] With the improvement and development of political, economic, scientific, cultural, and technical relations, we can achieve significant results in these fields. We have all possibilities to achieve these noble aims and I express with confidence that we will fully use these possibilities. The inter- government negotiations will be valued if these negotiations have a practical basis and if both sides always try to implement the agreements that they have signed at these negotiations.

Those important documents that have been signed today have the same point of view and they all have a practical basis. We are not going to limit our relations with the Islamic State of Afghanistan within the framework of these documents. For our part, we have instructed the relevant ministries and departments to prepare the necessary draft laws and agreements and to strengthen their cooperation with our Afghan friends, as the people say: A close neighbor is better than a distant relative.

Several times we have pointed this out during our meetings with His Excellency Borhanoddin Rabbani. Our main aim is to develop and strengthen our relations and cooperation with Afghanistan. I am confident that these difficult days facing the neighboring people will pass with the grace of God and the peoples of Tajikistan and Afghanistan will live in peace, tranquillity, and prosperity. Our countries [words indistinct] will be in line with the developed countries of the world. This is our aim, and we hope that with the assistance of God we will achieve this.

Dear friends, let me once again congratulate you, and through the person of you, the peoples of Tajikistan and Afghanistan on this important occasion, and to express confidence that the implementation of these documents will bring about new and constructive principles in relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

Then President Rabbani began his speech:

[Begin Rabbani recording in Dari] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. In these extremely sensitive and historic moments, I and my accompanying delegation are paying our first visit to Tajikistan following the independence of the republic, at the invitation of head of state, esteemed brother his excellency Imamali Rakhmanov. We are extremely happy at the hospitality and warm welcome accorded to us during our stay by the Tajik brethren and the leadership of this friendly and fraternal country. We are returning to our country with good memories of our visit. I express my heartfelt thanks to my most dear brother, his excellency Rakhmanov, the leadership of Tajikistan, and to the brother Tajik nation.

Our visit, the signing of agreements and understandings reached between the officials of the two states and between me and the esteemed brother, his excellency Rakhmanov, opens a new page and is an historic and positive step that once again deepens and strengthens the deep-rooted historic, religious and cultural links that have existed and still exist between the two brother nations throughout history. Of course, following the independence of Tajikistan and after the bloody and difficult struggle that we had as a result of the aggression from the troops of the former Soviet Union, our countries faced some difficulties. However, as I have said before, and reiterate once again, these difficulties are historical trends that can arise in any country and any society, after any social and political change. Such difficulties can engulf any society after change and during the transition from one political and social system into another. This has happened throughout history, and our two nations cannot remain an exception to these historic traditions. Therefore, we should not put all the blame on the two nations as to why they have not managed to resolve all their difficulties immediately in such circumstances. However, I am confident that the faithful nation of Afghanistan, and the Muslim Tajik nation, and leaders of both countries have the ability to resolve both their internal problems and also to resolve disputes between their countries and neighboring countries in the best possible manner.

Today, during my visit and the visit by his excellency brother Rakhmanov to Afghanistan, and the steps that we have taken in this direction, are the steps that show that we ourselves have the ability to resolve our difficulties. We are determined that these two brother nations will live in an atmosphere of peace, fraternity, and cooperation. Our borders are the borders of peace, the borders of fraternity and cooperation. We—the two Muslim nations and two neighboring and fraternal countries—as we continue to resolve our problems, disputes, and difficulties in our countries, are also determined to play a fundamental and constructive role in the security of the region and security of the world. I once again express many thanks to the Tajik brother nation and to the leadership of the friendly neighboring country of Tajikistan and to the esteemed brother Rakhmanov, who during my stay in Tajikistan has personally taken many troubles during my many meetings, and hope for the consolidation of fraternity and friendship between the two fraternal and Muslim Afghan and Tajik nations, and with hope for the restoration of security in the two neighboring and strategically important countries in the region—Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Peace be upon you, thank you. [applause] [end recording]

Later, a news conference attended by the heads of state was held. Domestic and foreign journalists attended and parts of which we draw your attention:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Olimov from Radio Tajikistan] Professor Rabbani, are you satisfied with your visit to Tajikistan?

[Rabbani] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, as I have already said, my visit to the neighboring and fraternal Republic of Tajikistan will be an unforgettable memory and I am confident that with this visit, a new chapter will be opened in relations between the two brother nations and the two neighboring and friendly countries.

[Unidentified correspondent from Tajik television] Your Excellency, as we know, there is no Tajik Embassy in Afghanistan so far. Has there been any discussion in this regard between the leaders of the two countries?

[Rabbani] As far as we are concerned, we announce that from now, our embassy has opened in Tajikistan, and I am sure that, as his excellency Imamali Rakhmanov has also stated, soon the Tajik embassy will open in Kabul.

[Rakhmanov] I confirm the views of his excellency Rabbani.

[Unidentified correspondent] This question is directed to esteemed Imamali Rakhmanov. According to the documents that have been signed here, in what fields will cooperation between the two states be developed?

[Rakhmanov] I would like to say that the documents that have been signed during the visit by His Excellency Rabbani, a new page has been turned in the history of the newly independent Republic of Tajikistan. Following the independence of Tajikistan, this has been a first visit by a foreign head of state to our republic. The documents that were signed today are historic documents, for the first time, a treaty of friendship and fraternity was signed between newly independent Tajikistan and Afghanistan. These documents enshrine cooperation in all economic fields.

[Unidentified Iranian correspondent in Persian] Mr. Rakhmanov, is the Tajik Government now ready to negotiate with the leaders of the Tajik opposition who are in Afghanistan?

[Rakhmanov] I want to reiterate once again what I have said from the highest rostrum in the world—the United Nations—and from the first day of my election as the head of state, that we can save our republic from this catastrophic situation only through negotiations and talks. We are always ready; we have established a special state commission to negotiate with anyone; and I am confident that with the establishment of this commission, we will pay a visit to Kabul and talk to all those refugees and their representatives and all those who desire to negotiate.

[Iranian correspondent] Are you personally ready to talk to these people?

[Rakhmanov] I am ready to negotiate with all the opposition.

[Iranian correspondent] There are some concerns among Tajik opposition forces, who are at present in Afghanistan, lest the Afghan Government forces them to return to Tajikistan. Would the Afghan Government do such a thing?

[Rabbani] As you have already heard from His Excellency Rakhmanov, he desires the resolving of disputes through negotiations and talks with all sections of the Tajik brothers, wherever they are. Issues will be put forward and discussed and all problems will be resolved in a brotherly manner. No one in Afghanistan or anywhere else will be forced to do anything against their will.

[Rakhmanov] I want to say to the correspondents that today, with a decree from the Presidium of the Supreme Council, 33 Afghan prisoners, who were held in Tajikistan, have been released from prison on the occasion of His Excellency Rabbani's visit, and will tomorrow return to Afghanistan. You can talk to them at Dushanbe airport tomorrow. Thank you. [applause] [end recording]

Russian Border Guard Commander Views Situation

LD2712142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, commander of Russian border guards, said that tensions on the Tajik-Afghan border were increasing. Tajik opposition fighter units supported by some Afghan field commanders continue their attempts to infiltrate Tajikistan and establish a foothold there.

Fighters of the Islamic Renaissance Party armed with heavy weapons, rocket launchers, and anti-aircraft missiles were seen to be poised to attack in the Pyanj and Pamirs directions.

A statement made public in Moscow Monday says that "these and other facts suggest that the armed opposition, wishing to cash in on Tajikistan's economic difficulties, is actively preparing for hostilities."

The commander emphasized: "The Russian border guards stationed in Tajikistan do not interfere in the republic's internal affairs. For the benefit of hot heads we reiterate our warning, however, that Russian border guards will do whatever is needed to prevent an armed invasion of Tajikistan, in compliance with the decisions made by the CIS Moscow summit of August 7 and Ashgabat summit of December 23. Extremist activities on the border will be dealt with resolutely. Those who are trying to prevent stabilization of the Tajik-Afghan border situation will face responsibility for the possible consequences."

Russian Ruble Adopted as Official Currency Unit

LD2712164593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] A RIA correspondent has reported from Dushanbe that a law on the republic's monetary system was adopted at the evening session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan today. The republic is now using the Russian ruble as the official currency unit. The introduction of other currency units and the issue of currency substitutes is prohibited, the document says. The exchange of old denominations will take place from the day of publication of the decree.

Turkmenistan

Bilateral Agreements Signed With Russia

Dual Citizenship, Border Accords

LD2312180693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1624 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin welcomed the agreements he signed with Turkmenistan earlier today as "the beginning of calm and civilized settlement of the most complicated questions."

Yeltsin said that the agreements on dual citizenship and migration regulation "will become the first documents of the kind in the history of the CIS."

The agreement on dual citizenship stipulates that "every party recognizes the right of their citizens to acquire, without loosing its own citizenship, a citizenship of another party. This should be done by means of the free expression of will in accordance with the terms and procedures established by the legislation of the country whose citizenship is being acquired."

"A person with dual citizenship enjoys the rights and freedoms, as well as bears the responsibility and duties of the citizens of the country on the territory of which he/she permanently lives. People with dual citizenship shall be provided with social welfare benefits in accordance with the legislation of the country of their permanent residence or respective agreements between the parties. A person with dual citizenship shall perform his military duties in the country of his permanent residence. A person with dual citizenship who has served in the Armed Forces of one state shall be exempted from his military duties in the other state."

The agreement will have to be ratified and shall be valid for five years. If neither side breaks the agreement less than six month before its expiration date, the agreement shall be prolonged each time for another five years.

Yeltsin and Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov also signed an agreement on the regulation of resettlement processes and on the protection of the rights of resettlers. In the document the sides stressed "the need for strict observance in Turkmenistan and the Russian Federation of order excluding any forms of discrimination against people, including political, social, economic, ethnic and religious discrimination, in connection with the realization of their rights to free resettlement between these states.

The document specifies terms, rights and duties of resettlers. Particularly, resettlers and members of their families have the right to move from the state of exit of their personal effects, provided it is not banned by that state, to sell, present, exchange, or bequeath their property, to transfer money deposits and assets placed on bank accounts in the state of exit to bank accounts in the state of entry in accordance with the procedure established by a special agreement between the central banks of the two states.

At the same time the document provides for the possibility of the state of exit to establish a resettlement quota which shall be determined by this state on its own.

The Ministry of Economics and Finance of Turkmenistan and the Federal Migration Service of Russia will carry out coordination functions. Under the document, migration services of the two countries may set up their representations in Russia and Turkmentistan.

Of special importance for both countries is an agreement on joint protection of the state border of Turkmenistan and the status of Russian border guards deployed in Turkmenistan, which was also signed today. The document says that the protection of the state border will be carried out by Turkmen border guards jointly with an operational group of Russian border guards. Both will be subordinated to the joint command to be headed by the commander of the Turkmen frontier troops. Members of the operational group and their families will be provided with safety guarantees, legal assistance and social welfare benefits. The border guards of this group will not be engaged in operations other than those aimed at protecting the state border, with the exception of eliminating the aftermath of natural calamities or catastrophes.

On Thursday Vice-Prime Ministers Aleksandr Shokhin of Russia and Redzhep Saparov of Turkmenistan signed a package of inter-governmental agreements, including on cooperation and mutual assistance in customs control, land surveying, cartography and cadastre and land probing.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Ties

LD2312210793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2043 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By TURKMENPRESS correspondent Dzheren Taimova for TASS]

[Text] Ashgabat December 23 TASS—"The dynamics of Turkmen-Russian relations may serve as an example for many CIS member countries," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in an interview with TURKMENPRESS news agency, describing the results of today's talks with his Turkmen counterpart Saparmurad Niyazov.

The interview was given during the ceremony of opening the Russian Embassy in Ashgabat. The Russian president showed that he was well informed about the history of the cosy two-storey detached house known to Ashgabat residents as "Nehru's house," which is now to accommodate the Russian Embassy. But most questions to Yeltsin dealt quite naturally with the bilateral interstate agreements signed by the two presidents.

Answering these questions, the Russian leader remembered having swum across the rushing river of Amudarya. "In our relations with Turkmenistan we do not face the waves I had to overcome that time," he said. "We have signed today an unprecedented agreement with Saparmurad Niyazov on dual citizenship. This is an act of great confidence and mutual respect between our peoples. I believe it will set a good example to be followed by other CIS member-states," he stressed.

Yeltsin hoisted the Russian flag above the embassy building.

Kozyrev Comments

LD2312185193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1209 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Glazovskaya, Yuriy Sizov, and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ashgabat December 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes that the Russo-Turkmenian documents, signed here today, "refute claims that Turkmenistan is allegedly drifting away from the Commonwealth of Independent States, from Russia".

"These documents," he said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS, "show that Russia and Turkmenistan are far ahead of other CIS countries in their relations. He pinpointed in this connection the treaty on the joint protection of the state border of Turkmenistan, and also the agreement on dual citizenship. "The problem of dual citizenship," the minister said, "is a stumbling block in many former republics of the Soviet Union. The signed agreement helps solve it in a civilised manner. Our agreements correspond to international legal standards.

"We see," Kozyrev said, "that this by no means undermines stability nor creates legal confusion. On the contrary, it smooths out our relations."

One more problem, namely migration, was raised during the Russian president's official visit to Turkmenistan. "Although Russia and Turkmenistan," Kozyrev noted, "do not encourage migration, it nevertheless exists, and should be regulated by civilised means, and the rights of the citizens of both countries should be guaranteed."

In Kozyrev's opinion, today's agreements stipulate additional measures and guarantees to protect the interests of the Russian-speaking population. "A civilised legal solution of this problem was found. We move to resolve it in this way with other countries, members of the former Soviet Union," he stated.

Armenia

President, Delegation Return From Ashgabat

NC2412203193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian delegation headed by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan returned to Yerevan from Ashgabat this evening. The delegation took part in the CIS summit in the capital of Turkmenistan from 23 to 24 December.

Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan, State Minister Vazgen Sargisyan, Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan, and head of the State Directorate for National Security Eduard Simonyants were included in the Armenian delegation.

President Calls On Azerbaijan To Renounce Aggression

NC2712172493 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1406 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Statement issued by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on 24 December; place not given]

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Dec (ARMENPRES)—The military operations between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh are continuing because of a firm rejection by Azerbaijan to solve the conflict by political means. By rejecting the CSCE's plan, the Azerbaijani Republic not only rejected the CSCE Minsk Group's efforts, in which the Russian Federation was actively taking part, but also the implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions.

The Republic of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic formally accepted the CSCE Minsk Group's plan and confirmed their readiness to implement the UN Security Council resolutions.

The Azerbaijani Republic has also rejected the Russian Federation's mediation to find a peaceful solution to the Nagorno- Karbakh conflict. The Russian initiative, which Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh welcomed, is in a position to create stable mechanisms for the establishment of a guaranteed cease-fire. Regrettably, the Azerbaijani leadership is nullifying Russia's efforts. Azerbaijani President Aliyev refused to meet the Armenian president in Moscow on 8 October 1993 to discuss the possibility of implementing the Russian initiative.

In effect, the Azerbaijani leadership rejected all the initiatives for the peaceful resolution of the conflict. This, along with the fact that Afghan mojahedin and Turkish soldiers are participating in Azerbaijani Army operations, indicates that Azerbaijan has pinned all of its hopes on a military solution and its leadership's policy is aimed at widening the conflict and dragging other states in it.

We call on the Azerbaijani leadership to act in line with the reality and not according to propagandistic objectives, to renounce the search for a military solution, and to solve all the problems with Nagorno-Karabakh exclusively through political means and in keeping with the internationally accepted norms.

[Signed] President of the Armenian Republic L. Ter-Petrosyan

[Dated] 24 December, 1993

Karabakh Ministry on Azerbaijani Attacks

NC2312210393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Statement issued by Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Foreign Ministry; date not given]

[Text] In keeping with oral agreements, the plenipotentiary representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] signed an agreement on 16 December on the establishment of a 10-day cease-fire between the Azerbaijan Republic and the NKR. This agreement was reached with the mediation of the Russian foreign minister. On the same day, the text of the agreement was sent to Moscow, and from there to Baku. Its arrival in Baku was officially confirmed. It was envisaged that a similar text to be signed by Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary representatives would be sent to Moscow and Stepanakert on 16 December. However, despite every effort exerted by the Russian Foreign Ministry and NKR government to persuade the Azerbaijani officials to consolidate the cease-fire agreement—concluded at high-level talks with the signing of the relevant document, about which an agreement had already been reached—the Baku Government is intentionally evading formalizing the agreements.

As of 16 December, the Azerbaijani armed formations, supported with scores of armored cars, have been incessantly attacking NKR Defense Army positions in Gadrutskiy and Martuninskiy Rayons. Despite considerable losses in men and material, the Azerbaijani Army command has issued orders to advance at all costs. This is confirmed by the radio interceptions.

The Azerbaijani units resumed their offensive against Karabakh positions at 0800 today. Settlements and defensive lines are being subjected to rocket and artillery shelling.

Such actions reveal the duplicity of the Azerbaijani leaders who only in words favor the peaceful resolution of the conflict. The NKR's constructive steps for the termination of the military operations have again remained unanswered by the Azerbaijan Republic.

The NKR Foreign Ministry hopes that the international community, with its prestigious organizations, will take all possible measures to halt the further intensification of the tension in the region.

If the Azerbaijani side's aggression continues, the NKR leadership will reserve the right to take corresponding measures.

Minister Warns War Might Intensify

NC2412154693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The situation has become extremely tense in the conflict zone. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army's press service reported that, after an active rocket and artillery barrage at dawn today, the Azerbaijani troops, supported by scores of armored cars, launched an attack in the direction of Talish and Mardakert in northern Karabakh. The enemy also resumed its offensive in the southeastern sector of the front. Karabakh Army units are waging defensive battles.

The offensive launched today by the Azerbaijani Army all along the front proves that Azerbaijan is no longer hiding its true intention of attaining its ultimate goal through the use of force, which is to completely depopulate Karabakh of Armenians. This was stated by NKR Foreign Minister Arkadiy Gukasyan during his meeting with reporters in Stepanakert today. He said that if the international community fails to take urgent measures to halt the intensification of the military operations, then the war will inevitably assume a new dimension that might lead to disastrous consequences.

Azerbaijan Resumes Offensive

LD2512161693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan December 25 TASS—The situation remains tense in Nagorno-Karabakh as Azerbaijani troops continue their attacks on Armenian defence lines despite the truce agreement and heavy losses, the press center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defence Ministry said.

The ministry said that Karabakh troops rebuff the attacks almost along the entire front line. On Friday alone, they repelled more than ten attacks in northern and southeastern sections of the front. Losses were reported in both camps.

According to preliminary data, Karabakh troops lost five soldiers and the Azerbaijani side 20 of its fighters. The same source said that in the front section neighbouring Iran the fire adjustment for Azerbaijani artillery is carried out from Iranian territory.

After a short lull Azerbaijan resumed the shelling of Nagorno-Karabakh army positions almost along the entire front line early on Saturday. Its troops deployed on the Agdamskiy district of Azerbaijan also launched an offensive in the north of the Martuniskiy district of the disputed enclave.

Foreign Minister Sends Message to Iranian Counterpart

NC2712155193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry's press and public relations service reported that Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan sent a message to Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati on 24 December.

The message says: The traditional friendship between our two countries is highly regarded in Armenia. Of late, there has been a noticeable consolidation of this friendship through the numerous and mutually advantageous ties forged between Armenia and Iran. This is the greatest achievement of our two countries, and it should never be left open to attack. In continuing to develop Armenian-Iranian cooperation for the sake of friendship between our two peoples and the establishment of peace and consolidation of stability in the region, we are sure that this will contribute to finding political solution of the Karabakh problem sooner.

The message adds: You are probably aware of Armenia's concern and its position on the peaceful resolution of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. With help from Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh accepted the proposal for the peaceful resolution of the problem within the CSCE framework, as well as the agreement on the cease-fire in the conflict zone that was mediated by the Russian Federation in the hope that it would lead to peace. Sadly, the Azerbaijani side continues to adopt a negative stance and has created obstacles to finding a political solution to the problem.

I hope that the opportunity will soon arise to meet Your Excellency and, as always, to discuss in a friendly manner all the recent problems that are of mutual interest.

Iranian Delegation Discusses Gas Pipeline

NC2312202993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan today received a delegation from the National Iranian Gas Company headed by (Riza Rustami Sani). The delegation is in Armenia for talks on the agreement for the construction of a gas pipeline between Iran and Armenia.

In greeting the guests, the Armenian vice president noted that Armenian officials believe that the agreement is very important and that it is an important factor in consolidating ties between our two countries.

Mr. Sani and Armenian Deputy Energy and Fuel Minister Karen Galustyan spoke in detail on the progress of the talks and matters under discussion.

The sides expressed satisfaction at the course of the talks and emphasized that they are being held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. The draft agreement is being discussed in detail and amended so that all the issues can be presented in the final document. It was noted that the preparatory phase of the agreement is on the verge of completion, and hope was expressed that the commission will be able to prepare the agreements on purchases and finances in March 1994. Only then will it be possible to start the engineering and construction work.

Iranian Charge d'Affaires in Armenia Ahmad Sobhani was present at the meeting.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Military Offensive Reportedly Stopped

NC2512201593 Baku TURAN in English 1407 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 25 (TURAN)—The offensive of Armenian armed forces towards the south-west of Azerbaijan which has begun yesterday, was stopped this noon, reports the news center of Azerbaijan Defense Ministry.

As was reported, yesterday at 17.20 o'clock Armenian forces using 20 armoured vehicles, launched the offensive towards Beylagan region center.

The latest reports of news service of Defense Ministry of the Republic says that this noon, as a result of firing, Azeri forces totally stopped the offensive. Armenian forces, having losses in equipment and personnel, retreated from their positions. The firing continues at present.

Aliyev Comments on Statement to CIS Summit

NC2412201993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 Dec 93

[Text] The meeting of the heads of CIS states ended in Ashgabat today, and the Azerbaijani delegation, led by President Geydar Aliyev, returned to Azerbaijan.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Ramiz Mesedihesenli] President Geydar Aliyev and our Republic's official delegation were seen off at Ashgabat airport this noon by Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov and other government officials.

Esteemed president, you read a five-page statement on behalf of Azerbaijan at the Ashgabat meeting. The statement criticized Armenia's aggressive war against Azerbaijan. After your statement, the Armenian president immediately issued a page-long reply. How was the statement issued by Azerbaijan received by the members of the CIS countries?

[Aliyev] Our statement, the text of which you already know, explains the situation that has existed in Azerbaijan since the start of this military conflict, especially since Armenia's latest aggression against Azerbaijan. Some people at the meeting were somewhat astonished by our statement. But our statement was very solid, and I linked it with the CIS's collective security agreement. I pointed out that if CIS is adopting a collective security agreement, then this union should ensure security within the CIS, first of all, and prevent one state from attacking another. There is a military conflict between states that are members of this union and have signed the collective security agreement. Armenia is engaged in aggression with the intention of occupying Azerbaijan. It has already occupied a part of its territory. I called on the heads of the CIS states to take measures to end this military aggression.

In my opinion, this statement was positively received, in general. Only a few republics said that this forum was not the place to discuss this issue. I replied that this is the place to discuss it because, if we are members of a union—that is, the CIS—then we must discuss the internal situation to forge normal relations among us.

I believe that this statement had a powerful effect. Kazakh President Nazarbayev said that....[pauses] I introduced this statement because the agenda included measures on implementing the collective security agreement. They wanted to delete this item from the agenda. I objected to that. Following my objections, that item remained on the agenda and a decision was adopted on that issue. After my statement, Nazarbayev noted appropriately that it should be given special, separate consideration. Upon hearing that, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said that we should meet somewhere to discuss it. That closed the matter.

Later, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that the Armenian side told the meeting that if Geydar Aliyev could make such a statement to the meeting, I [Ter-Petrosyan] also want to make a statement. He distributed the text of his statement and said a few words.

I think that he had to reply to us, but the effect of our statement was very strong.

[Mesedihesenli] Geydar Aliyev and his entourage were welcomed at Baku's Bina Airport by Supreme Soviet Chairman Rasul Guliyev and other officials. [end recording]

Aliyev Hopes Russia Can Stop Armenian Aggression

MK2512112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Geydar Aliyev in Paris by Aleksandr Bangerskiy under the "Leader" rubric: "Geydar Aliyev Hopes for Russia. Neither in Paris did Azerbaijan President Forget About Transcaucasus Problems"]

[Excerpts] [Bangerskiy] Mr. President, what is your assessment of your Paris trip?

[Aliyev] The important thing is that I had meetings, very useful and fruitful talks. Of special significance is the meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand and the treaties we signed on friendship and cooperation between the French and the Azerbaijan republics. [passage omitted]

[Bangerskiy] What is your assessment of Azerbaijan's relations with Russia, and what are their prospects? What role does Russia play in your country's international policy?

[Aliyev] Azerbaijan's relations with Russia have been cool in recent years. After I came to lead the republic, I took all measures to improve relationships with Russia. I went to Moscow, met with Boris Yeltsin, Viktor Chernomyrdin, other politicians, and we started to put relations with Russia on an even keel. Then, on 24 September, we signed an agreement on joining the CIS, and a treaty on collective security.

That our countries are drawing closer together is also seen in the fact that Russia is taking measures to play a mediating role in the resolution of the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. We think that Russia has more capabilities than any other country. It should be said at the same time that these attempts have so far yielded no results. In November, Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian president's ambassador at large, was in Baku for five days. He brought us the text of an agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan that can be signed. We fundamentally agree with this text, but made some amendments.

And then, when he was on his way from Azerbaijan to Armenia, he came under fire from Armenian armed formations. Following this, Russia's Foreign Ministry made a very harsh statement concerning these actions. There was a Russian Council of Ministers demand for an apology. Armenia did not apologize, red-taping this question so that Russia's mediatory role is now weakened. But I think this activity should be resumed, and Russia can play a positive role in putting a stop to the Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan.

Further Aliyev Comments

NC2312210693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Text] As we have already reported, the Azerbaijani delegation headed by President Geydar Aliyev returned from an official visit to France last night. Our special correspondent Seyyed Akhbabaly interviewed Geydar Aliyev on the way back to the homeland.

[Begin recording] [Akhbabaly] The president of the French Senate said that it will not change its traditional foreign policy. In my view this means that France will never impair its relations with Armenia. Therefore, what sort of a foreign policy do we have to develop to make France change its policy towards us within this Azerbaijan-Armenia-French triangle?

[Aliyev] It is not possible to expect France to change its policy toward Armenia. This is because, as the French leaders themselves told us during our contacts yesterday, the Armenians have been living in France for centuries. The Armenians are occupying very important positions in France, serving in the state organs, exerting influence in business, and widely represented in information organs. They even told us yesterday that the French themselves are using the Armenian potential during the parliamentary elections. Therefore, they are also influencing the parliamentary elections.

Therefore, one should not expect France to change its position towards Armenia. The relations between the French and Armenians have been built not over one or 10 years, but over centuries. There are some 400,000 Armenians in France. And, according to what the French themselves told us, these are the most closely integrated communities of all. This is what the French themselves are saying.

Therefore, one should not entertain the idea that we could change this. What we could do is to bring about a change in France's position towards Azerbaijan so that objective information on Azerbaijan could flow there and so that French society and officials could receive objective information about Azerbaijan. We could achieve this. And, undoubtedly, by so doing we will be to a certain extent broadening the influence of our own foreign policy.

[Akhbabaly] While speaking with my colleagues over there they said that the other CIS presidents managed to meet with Francois Mitterrand for 10 or 15 minutes at the most, whereas he met with the Azerbaijani president for almost 30 minutes. Shall we ascribe this to Geydar Aliyev or to interest in Azerbaijan?

[Aliyev] You yourselves must draw a conclusion from it. However, I can remind you that I was acquainted with Francois Mitterrand in the past. I met him during his visit to Moscow. I took part in the Soviet-French talks then. We were even together at a dinner. He even reminded me that we were sitting side by side. It could be that this is an important factor. After all, Francois Mitterrand also knew with whom he was talking. [end recording]

Georgia

Security Ministry Office Damaged in Explosion

LD2512195793 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1707 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] The city, especially the people living in Aghmashenebeli Prospekt and neighboring areas of Tbilisi were awakened by a large pre-dawn explosion today. It has emerged that an unidentified criminal or a group of criminals set off two large explosions.

We think that what you can see on your screens requires no comment.

The explosion seriously damaged not only the building of one of the Security Ministry's services, but also the neighboring buildings of the Meteorological Center of the Academy of Sciences and the Defense Ministry's Military Academy. Fortunately, neither the students at the Military Academy, nor the security service officials on a night shift in the building were injured.

The material damage is probably worth hundreds of millions. Moreover, we think that the perpetrators of this crime have inflicted pain not only on those whose sleep they disturbed this morning, but also on a developing country which has only recently stood up on its own feet, on the nation and, of course, primarily, on the officers and soldiers who have been entrusted with the task of protecting the country's security.

Security Ministry Issues Statement

LD2512133793 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1220 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A statement of the Security Ministry of the Republic of Georgia. On 24 December the alarm was raised at the order of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Georgia. Units of the Defense Ministry were deployed in Tbilisi and carried out a number of unilateral, immediate measures against the Security Ministry employees; in particular, they detained without any grounds two operational vehicles which were armed with special equipment and the employees sitting in the vehicles whose duty arms and their uniforms were confiscated. They physically insulted the employees; one of them was insulted by the defense minister himself. One truck was also seized.

Additional forces of the Defense Ministry which were ordered to occupy two adjacent buildings owned by the Security Ministry were deployed on the territory of the military academy.

A blast took place at 0437 25 December on the territory of the security ministry. A large amount of explosives were detonated and two Security Ministry employees were wounded, one seriously.

Extensive material damage was sustained: the buildings of the Security Ministry, the military academy, the hydrometeorological center, and some adjacent buildings, as well as some special operational equipment and private cars were also damaged.

In connection with the blast a criminal investigation to be conducted by the procurator's office of the Republic of Georgia has been launched.

The Security Ministry of the Republic of Georgia is appealing to the head of state, parliament, the government, and the general population to condemn such single-minded provocative actions aimed at the special service. Moreover, the ministry wants to give this instance a political qualification and charge the organizers of the illegal actions with criminal responsibility. The ministry says that this action was directly or indirectly intended to interfere with the work of the Security Ministry in combating crime at this critical stage of Georgia's statehood.

The Security Ministry is authorized to declare that it will do its best to carry out the goals it has been tasked with. The leadership of the ministry is calling on the personnel and every citizen to stay calm, not yield to provocations whichever side these may come from. The Security Ministry will do its best to maintain order in the country.

Defense Ministry Issues Statement

LD2512200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1850 GMT 25 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi December 25 TASS—The press centre of the Georgian Defence Ministry issued a statement late on Saturday shifting the responsibility for the conflict with the republican Security Ministry on its head Igor Georgadze.

The statement admitted that the clash between the defence and security ministers in Tbilisi airport on Friday took place, but it did not respond to the charges brought against the ministry by the security ministry.

Earlier today the Georgian Security Ministry issued a statement accusing the republican Defence Ministry of unlawful activities against its employees.

On Friday Defence Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili put his troops on alert and ordered them to patrol the city. One of the patrols stopped two Security Ministry radio cars, disarmed their passengers, all Security Ministry employees, seized the equipment and beat them. The statement said the defence minister was involved personally.

Meanwhile, Georgian Leader Eduard Shevardnadze has so far stayed aloof from the growing conflict between the two power ministries.

Shevardnadze's Press Secretary Zaza Kandelaki told ITAR-TASS on Saturday that "Eduard Shevardnadze refrains from giving an official assessment to the developments caused by the conflict between the ministries of security and defence."

Shevardnadze Orders Investigation

LD2512213793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2107 GMT 25 Dec 93

[Text] Tbilisi December 25 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze has ordered an investigation into the causes of the incidents that started the conflict between the republican Defense and Security Ministries.

The move followed the statements of the two ministries made earlier today in which they traded charges for the growing conflict.

The conflict started with a clash between Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili and Security Minister Igor Georgadze in Tbilisi airport on Friday upon the return from the CIS summit in Ashgabat. But on Saturday it received an unexpected continuation in the form of a powerful bomb explosion in one of the Security Ministry facilities in the centre of Tbilisi. Experts said the explosion was so powerful that its effect could be equal to an explosion of a large ammunition depot. No casualties or damage were reported. Officials have not come up with any explanation of the accident so far.

These incidents have brought the situation in Tbilisi to a head, Shevardnadze said. "In conditions of the state of emergency any sign of confrontation between the Defense Ministry and the state security system causes rightful indignation of the people. They demand that an end be put to the irresponsibility in all sections of the executive branch," the statement said.

Shevardnadze set up a special commission led by Prime Minister Otar Pastastia to carry out the investigation.

Shevardnadze Issues Statement

LD2612105593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] The head of state [Eduard Shevardnadze] issued an order in connection with the incident at Tbilisi airport which occurred on 24 December, saying:

The incident which occurred at Tbilisi airport on 24 December this year and which caused a blast and heavy consequences in one of the departments of the Security Ministry, created even more tension in the operational situation in Tbilisi. It is natural that under the emergency situation every manifestation of confrontation between the Security Ministry and the Defense System [as heard] causes a rightful exasperation of the country's population which is calling for the eradication of irresponsibility in every circle of executive power.

I demand a thorough examination of the causes of the 24-25 December incidents and a just and operational investigation of the crime.

In this connection, in order to study the incidents which occurred and produce a relevant conclusion, a government commission is to be set up comprising the following persons: Otar Patsatsia, the prime minister of the republic; Irakli Menagharashvili, the deputy prime minister; Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, the vice speaker of Georgian parliament; Jamlet Badurashvili, the procurator-general of the republic of Georgia; Tedo Ninidze, the justice minister of the republic of Georgia. I have been notified by the procurator-general of the republic, Jamlet Badurashvili that a criminal case has been instituted in connection with the crime and that investigation has been launched.

Giorgadze's Actions Condemned

LD2612110493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Statement issued by the Defense Ministry press center; date not given]

[Text] An incident took place between the leaders of the two power departments [Defense and Security Ministries] on 24 December at Tbilisi airport.

As the state delegation of the Republic of Georgia was returning from Ashgabat, Major General Igor Giorgadze, the minister of state security, breaking every judicial and moral norm blamed the republic's defense minister, Maj. Gen. Giorgi Karkarashvili, for losing Abkhazia, assisting revanchists, and the disruption of signing the military agreement in Ashgabat and threatened to arrest him.

Defense Ministry authorities have always treated with respect the contribution and merit of others—and the employees of the Security Ministry are no exception—against the background of the usual mutual accusations in today's political spectrum of Georgia. Many of the Security Ministry employees fought honorably and gave their lives to defend the motherland, but Igor Giorgadze's accusations against the defense minister are so heavy that it is impossible to laugh. It is an apotheosis of illogic and cynicism that Giorgi Karkarashvili should be blamed for losing Abkhazia and assisting revanchists by a man who has not lost even two nights' sleep, who himself was supervising the Senaki headquarters, which fell into the hands of the illegal armed formations of the former president's supporters under strange circumstances.

Taking into consideration the exasperation of the whole of the Armed Forces personnel in connection with the provocation staged against the defense minister, the Defense Ministry press center declares the following:

The heaviest charges brought against the defense minister mars the honor of the whole of the Armed Forces of the republic and tramples on the memory of those men who fought together with Gia Karkarashvili and fell in Abkhazia.

The incident of 24 December can be qualified as a provocation posing danger to the state and aimed at the Armed Forces. Therefore, the security minister's behavior must immediately be given a political assessment.

Shevardnadze-Led Delegation Leaves for Ashgabat

LD2312181993 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A state delegation led by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian parliament, today left for Ashgabat. It will participate in the meeting of CIS states.

The delegation includes Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, members of the Cabinet of Ministers, and heads of ministries and departments. [passage omitted]

The date and the place of the next meeting of the council of the heads of governments will be agreed at the session.

A meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers of CIS countries will also be held in Ashgabat. Military delegations of all CIS countries except Moldova are participating in the session.

Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, in his interview with journalists, expressed the hope that many key issues of military cooperation would be resolved in Ashgabat. Grachev noted that the ministers must discuss the issues of reorganizing the command of the CIS united Armed Forces in CIS hot spots.

Shevardnadze Comments on Return

LD2512135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0859 GMT 25 Dec 93

[By GIA-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi December 25 TASS—"Georgia's decision to join the Commonwealth of Independent States was correct and is not to be reversed," Georgian leader Eduard Shevarnadze said in an interview with a correspondent of the GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY (GIA) at Tbilisi airport. Shevarnadze took part in the CIS summit which ended in Ashgabat on Friday.

Assessing the results of the summit, Shevarnadze pointed out that his meetings and talks with CIS leaders were fruitful, emphasising that each of them was useful and constructive.

Commenting on the one-to-one talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin which took place right after the plenary session was over, Shevarnadze declared that mutual understanding had been reached practically on all cardinal problems in the relations between the two countries.

The Georgian leader said that a package of documents, including an agreement clearly regulating these relations, are expected to be finalized in January.

Shevarnadze noted with satisfaction Russia's readiness to continue its peace-keeping mission for the settlement of the Abkhazian conflict and its determination to more actively promote the stabilisation of the situation in the Tskhinval region.

Touching upon the problem of the restoration and development of economic ties between Georgia and Russia on a new qualitative basis, Shevarnadze said that he is attaching great importance to a visit expected to be paid by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin during which many important problems in different fields are expected to be resolved.

Shevardnadze Discusses Relations With Yeltsin

AU2712132593 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21 Dec 93 p 8

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze by IMA-Press, "made available exclusively to BERLINER ZEITUNG"; place and date not given: "Shevardnadze's Religious Support"]

[Excerpt] [IMA-Press] What are your feelings toward Russia and its leadership after the latest events?

[Shevardnadze] I have good, businesslike contacts with the Russian president. I would like to believe that this is mutual understanding. Things are different regarding the forces that oppose him and regarding some persons from his surroundings.

As regards my feelings for Russia, I primarily feel respect for a great country, its wonderful culture, its enormous intellectual potential, which is still facing its development under new historical circumstances for the benefit of all peoples who live there. I believe in Russia's rebirth as a democratic country, which tears itself away with determination from the fateful imperialist policy and traditions. This is the only way in which it can be a guarantor of peace and stability in the large Eurasian area, which also includes my homeland.

[IMA-Press] Does Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the former Georgian president, still pose a danger to the country?

[Shevardnadze] No. After the events in September, when the ex-president prevented armed units from helping Sukhumi, which was besieged by Abkhazians, and he unleashed a civil war in Georgia, he does not have any support anymore on our soil. However, he can be dragged to light again to escalate the situation in the country. Still, he does not have any prospects of success.

[IMA-Press] In Georgia there is a state of emergency. Will it be lifted after the victory over Gamsakhurdia?

[Shevardnadze] Parliament is working again. The institutions of the state power are also active again. However, the reasons that required the introduction of extraordinary measures have not yet been abolished. The ravaging of crime has not been stopped yet. People live on starvation rations. Other urgent problems—such as the protection of the transportation routes and the situation of the foodstuffs companies—continue to exist. There is the danger of acts of sabotage against energy production facilities. In this situation we can neither loosen nor lift the state of emergency.

[IMA-Press] Do you believe that Abkhazia is finally lost to Georgia after the Confederation of the Caucasus Peoples transferred its staff headquarters to Sukhumi?

[Shevardnadze] After the latest talks in Geneva under the UN aegis, such a possibility is emerging. As regards us Georgians, we have never been able to imagine, at any stage of this unfortunate conflict—not even after the fall of Sukhumi—that Abkhazia might not be Georgian at some time in the future. One cannot give away an inseparable part of our country, one of the oldest centers of our culture and our nationhood, the home of 300,000 of our fellow-citizens. [passage omitted]

Russian Foreign Ministry Delegation Arrives

LD2612203193 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Text] A Russian Federation Foreign Ministry delegation which includes Anatoliy Adamishin, the first deputy foreign minister, Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, and other representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia arrived for an official visit in Tbilisi today.

The guests were met at Tbilisi airport by Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze, Irakli Menagharishvili, a vice premier of the Republic of Georgia, the commander of the Russian troops in the Transcaucasus, and representatives of the Russian Embassy.

Adamishin stated the following in describing the purpose of the visit:

[Begin recording] [Adamishin, in Russian] The purpose of our visit is to maintain political contacts with our Georgian friends. There is nothing sensational in this. I think there has been a positive breakthrough in our relations. At every level and in every sphere we are trying to find a common language. There seems to be a necessity for us to have talks and consultations through foreign ministry channels. I do not think I will reveal a secret by saying that we are going to sign a paper which will put relations with our beloved Georgian friends on a more solid footing.

[Unidentified correspondent, in Russian] Can you tell us about the venue for the second round of talks between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides and also about your forecasts?

[Adamishin, in Russian] As you know, the talks have been set to be held in Geneva on 11 January. My personal opinion—I do not know if the Georgian side will support it—is that Geneva is not the best venue for the talks. It is necessary to hold talks closer to the area of conflict. However, this is my personal opinion.

[Correspondent, in Russian] Do you think it would be better to hold talks in a CIS country?

[Adamishin, in Russian] I think that it is better to be closer to the conflict area. You know, everybody is enjoying going to Geneva, which creates an additional incentive to delay the talks, rather than [word indistinct] them. Talking in normal CIS conditions may create a better chance for success.

[Correspondent, in Russian] And my last question. Following the first round of talks in Geneva, several issues remained unresolved, for example, Abkhazia's status. What is your opinion about it?

[Adamishin, in Russian] You know, quite a few issues remained unresolved, which is not surprising. I think that, first of all, we in Russia should not be solving these issues. They must be solved directly by our Georgian friends in talks with Abkhazia. You can be sure of one thing, which is that Russia is clearly in favor of Georgia's territorial integrity. Finding a status for the Abkhazians and South Ossetians is subject to negotiation, however, this status should be within Georgia, within the framework of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. [end recording]

Also today, the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, received Russian Deputy Foreign Ministers Anatoliy Adamishin and Boris Pastukhov. The meeting discussed the issues of bilateral relations, developing cooperation between the two countries' foreign policy agencies, and ways and possibilities of implementing earlier agreements aimed at conflict settlement in Abkhazia.

Present at the meeting were Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, Parliament Speaker Vakhtang Goguadze, Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaydze, Russian Ambassador in Georgia, Vladimir Zemskiy, and other officials.

Russia regards Georgia as its strategic ally, Adamishin said, in an interview with the Georgian Information Agency after today's meeting with the head of state. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov also took part in the discussion with Eduard Shevardnadze.

The working meeting examined a package of interstate agreements which are ready for signing. It covers economic and other spheres.

In recognizing the territorial integrity of Georgia, Russia, according to Adamishin, supports a political settlement of the conflicts in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region, a formula for their political status within Georgia which would be acceptable to all sides and a return of the refugees.

The meeting's agenda also included the issue of a possible visit to Georgia by the Russian president and prime minister.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD2612191093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1758 GMT 26 Dec 93

[By TASS-GIA correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Dec—"Russia regards Georgia as a strategic ally," Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian first deputy foreign minister, told a Georgian news agency correspondent after meeting the head of the Georgian state. Boris Pastukhov, Russian deputy foreign minister, also attended today's meeting with Eduard Shevardnadze.

In Adamishin's view, relations between Russia and Georgia are now in a period of "renaissance", especially after Georgia joined the CIS. Also, qualitatively new relations between the two countries became noticeable during the recent events in the western part of Georgia, which were difficult for the republic. In the course of the working meeting which took place, the deputy head of the Russian Foreign Ministry said a package of interstate agreements prepared for signing and touching upon the most different spheres of the economy and other areas was discussed.

Confirming the principle of Georgia's territorial integrity, Russia, according to Adamishin's statement, comes out in favor of a political settlement to the conflict in Abkhazia, inter alia, in favor of determining a version of its political status within Georgia which would be acceptable to both sides. These problems will be further discussed during the new round of talks scheduled to take place in Moscow in January next year.

The agenda of the talks with the Georgian leader which had ended, Adamishin said, "included the issues of the Russian president's and prime minister's possible visits to Georgia."

'Memorandum of Understanding' With Abkhazia Published

AU2312144393 Tbilisi NOVAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 36 Dec 93 p 3

["Memorandum of Understanding Between the Georgian and Abkhazian Sides at the Negotiations in Geneva" signed on 1 December]

[Text] On 30 November-1 December 1993, the first round of negotiations on a full-scale regulation of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict under the aegis of the United Nations and with the assistance of Russia and the participation of CSCE representatives was held in Geneva.

The negotiations were conducted taking into account Security Council Resolutions 849 of 9 July 1993, 854 of 6 August 1993, 858 of 24 August 1993, 876 of 19 October 1993, and 881 of 4 November 1993.

Agreement was reached on the following:

1. Adhering to the basic provisions of the Sochi Agreement on a Cease-Fire in Abkhazia of 27 July 1993 and the mechanism of control regarding its observation, the sides pledge not to use force or the threat of force against one another during the period of negotiations aimed at a full-scale political regulation of the conflict in Abkhazia.

2. The sides believe that an increase in the number of international observers and the use of international peacekeeping forces in the conflict zone with the agreement of the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general would contribute to maintaining peace.

3. As a gesture of goodwill, the sides will exchange prisoners of war before 20 December 1993 in accordance with the principle "all for all" and without any preliminary conditions. Emergency measures will be taken to search for persons missing without trace for which purpose the sides will exchange corresponding lists. Measures will also be taken to rebury those who have been killed.

4. The sides consider it their duty to resolve immediately the problem of refugees and displaced persons. They pledge to create conditions enabling the safe and swift return of refugees to their permanent place of residence in every rayon of Abkhazia of their own free will. All returning refugees will be given back their apartments, houses, plots of land, and property that they abandoned.

The sides express the hope that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees will participate in resolving the problem of refugees.

5. The sides appeal to the international community to assist in restoring the systems for securing the lives of the population in the conflict zone and render various humanitarian aid to all who have suffered as a result of the conflict.

6. The sides express the wish that, in order to assist in the restoration of the economy in the conflict zone, an international commission should be set up with the participation of international and national organizations.

7. In order to prepare recommendations on the political status of Abkhazia, a group of experts made up of representatives of the sides, the United Nations, the Russian Federation, and the CSCE will set to work in Moscow at the beginning of December 1993. The group will prepare its report for the next round of negotiations.

8. The next round of negotiations on a full-scale regulation of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict under the aegis of the United Nations and with the assistance of Russia and the participation of CSCE representatives will begin on 11 January 1994 in Moscow or Geneva.

[Signed] On behalf of the Georgian side—Dz. Ioseliani

On behalf of the Abkhazian side—S. Dzindzoliya

In the presence of:

E. Brunner (on behalf of the United Nations); B. Pastukhov (on behalf of the Russian Federation), V. Manno (on behalf of the CSCE).